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Reflation hint comes with Market terms

Broad hints from the Government of a reflationary package within the month or two coincided yesterday with the publication of the White Paper recommending British entry into the Common Market.

Members of the National Economic Development Council, who had met to discuss possible deal by Government, industry, and unions on economic expansion and price restraint, came away with the impression that Mr Barber will announce reflationary measures as soon as the present Treasury review of the economy is completed later this month.

The Prime Minister confirmed in the House that the Government's Whips will move for the decision on entry into Europe. Mr Heath is to make a Ministerial

Feather gives thumbs down

By JOHN TORODE, Labour Correspondent

Victor Feather, general secretary of the TUC, yesterday added his voice to the chorus of opposition to joining Europe on the current terms. And he prophesied that the TUC's policy-making committee will come out against common market too.

Mr Feather said that the TUC cannot see that entry on the current terms will be advantageous to the British people. "We have not achieved what we wanted (the TUC set target) and I do not believe the Government will accept the terms which are now being offered."

Feather's reaction confirms the general belief that the TUC will come out against the EEC at the end of September. The TUC's emergency congress in London next month seems to have abandoned the idea of joining the EEC on the current terms. Feather pointed out that the Government's proposal for paying the Community budget mean Britain contributing about 31 per cent and back only 6 per cent. Congress also agreed that this was quite unacceptable and a clear object of negotiations must be to limit our contribution to about 10 per cent of the Community budget. The negotiations have failed to achieve any change in the formula which is really only equitable to countries with similar proportions of their workpeople in agriculture.

The reason why Mr Feather stressed the balance-of-payments effect is that this, more than any other factor, would determine our rate of economic growth, our living standards, and employment in Britain. "The fact is that the dynamic process of industrial investment itself depends on our balance-of-payments position and it makes little sense to believe that there can be positive dynamic effect if there is a huge balance of payments cost... on this basis there might well be more investment in the past it has in the mind to be invested on the Continent than in the United Kingdom."

Mr Feather drew attention to the adverse effect on the distribution of income arising from increased food prices, changes in taxation, and so on. "The TUC had said that if the terms were right the entry might be advantageous in spite of this. But the target had not been achieved."

A step towards economic unity

By JOHN PALMER

Government, the industry and the unions have in a significant step agreed on a policy of restraint on prices, wages, and the money supply. This became apparent at the monthly meeting of the National Economic Development Council in London yesterday.

The meeting was attended by representatives of the TUC and the Government, as well as the Chancellor, Mr John Davies, and the Secretary for Employment, Mr Roy Jenkins.

The union leaders were left afterwards that the Government had come a long way towards accepting the situation and the need for a reflationary package which has been argued by the TUC. There were few objections to the use of the paper submitted to the meeting by the Government.

The use of the general fund of the state of the economy and the need for a joint attack on the money supply, low investment and rising prices it was said that further informal discussions should be held during the month between NEDC, the Government, and the CBI. It is hoped that the August meeting of the Council will be a statement on the way forward to the rest of the year.

At present at yesterday's meeting came away with the impression that the Government had accepted that action would have to be taken to stimulate the economy, investment in particular. In turn, was taken to note that as soon as the Treasury review of the economy was completed Mr

broadcast tonight, and Mr Wilson has now also decided to broadcast tomorrow.

With the publication of the White Paper, the battle lines in the country began to harden. The Confederation of British Industry said the terms in the White Paper were good, and the opinion of industry had consistently been in favour of entry. But the benefits would not be automatic, and it was up to industry to seize the opportunity now offered.

Mr Vic Feather, general secretary of the TUC, said: "I doubt very much whether the General Council will feel able to command the terms of entry on this basis... I cannot see that entry on these terms will be advantageous to the British people."

Francis Boyd writes: Mr Heath told the House of Commons that the Government would seek the approval of Parliament in the autumn for a decision of principle to take up full membership of the Market by Britain on the basis of arrangements negotiated with the EEC.

No free vote

He ruled out a free vote. The Government's view is that Parliament in the autumn will be asked to take one of the biggest decisions ever made by it in peacetime. If the British Government had no advice to give to its supporters when the vote was taken it would lose the respect of the world.

In the Government's view the present members of the EEC had taken up a position, to permit Britain's entry which would involve them in political problems in their own countries. How then could the UK Government fail to ask for the votes of its supporters?

Ministers recognise that the Opposition is not bound in any way by what the Government has decided to do. Any opposition, in the view of Ministers, is free to allow a free vote—as the Tories themselves in opposition decided to do from time to time. But the Government will ask its supporters in the autumn to vote for joining Europe—and expects to win.

Mr Heath will make a broadcast today and will take a press conference in London on Monday at which representatives of the world press will be able to ask questions on Britain's position after entry into the EEC.

The first print of the White Paper setting out the case and terms for British entry was 100,000, and each MP was allowed 13 copies. The shorter version is to be available free in Crown Post Offices from Monday: 5 million copies of this version are being printed.

Thorpe view

Mr Jeremy Thorpe, the Liberal leader, said yesterday that the White Paper showed that the negotiations started by the Labour Government had been successful. "I'm certain," Mr Thorpe said, "that if Mr Wilson were still Prime Minister he would be appearing on television tomorrow night to commend these terms to the nation."

The most striking feature of the White Paper is what it leaves out. It does not present, as the Labour Government's White Paper of February, 1970, tried to do, a balance sheet of

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The case for Europe

The main points of the White Paper are:

Britain will have an equal voice with France, Germany, and Italy in the Community's institutions.

English will become an official Community language.

Britain's contribution to the EEC budget will mean a net cost to our balance of payments of £100 millions in the first year and £200 millions at the end of the transition period in 1977. No forecast is possible beyond 1980.

Food prices are likely to rise by 15 per cent during transition, increasing the cost of living by 0.6 per cent a year.

Farm output is expected to increase by an additional 8 per cent.

Industrial tariffs between Britain and the EEC will be reduced by 20 per cent each year during transition. External tariffs against nonmembers will be raised to Common Market levels over four years, starting in 1974, to allow Commonwealth readjustment.

The safeguards for New Zealand will ensure that 71 per cent of its dairy products will be sold at the end of the transition. Its lamb market will not be protected but is expected to maintain acceptable levels.

The EEC undertakings on sugar imports from the Commonwealth are regarded as a firm assurance of a secure and continuing market in the enlarged Community.

Certain Commonwealth countries have until January 1975 to decide on association with EEC. Dependent territories will also be offered association.

The Channel Islands and the Isle of Man will not be full members but will have reciprocal rights and obligations.

The Community tariff on tea will be suspended.

Coastal fishery arrangements are unsatisfactory and will be reconsidered. The Government is determined to safeguard British fishermen's interests.

There will need to be modifications in the Government's powers over the coal and steel industries, but they will be free to develop on commercial lines. Production quotas can only be introduced in times of manifest crisis, of which there seems no likelihood.

Britain will join Euratom without fee but deposit knowledge of equivalent value after accession.

Sterling balances will be gradually run down after membership to assist European monetary union, but no time limit has been set. Sterling will be phased out as a reserve currency.

The Community is still considering British proposals for dismantling exchange control restrictions to allow free movement of capital.

We will subscribe £37.5 millions to the European Investment Bank, but the greater part of it will probably stay in Britain.

In foreign affairs we shall be involved in no greater obligations than we have assumed in Western European Union. There is no question of eroding essential national sovereignty.

Membership will provide the most favourable opportunity for achieving economic progress and increases in food prices will be offset by lower prices for other consumer items.

Increases in efficiency and competitive power should offset the balance of payments costs of entry in ten years.

White Paper in full, 11-14

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Davies routs Labour on steel man's sacking

By NORMAN SHRAPNEL, Parliamentary Correspondent

However Mr William Camp, British Steel's head of information, came to be fired it had nothing to do with the Government according to Mr John Davies. The Secretary for Trade and Industry is fireproof and so is his junior colleague, Sir John Eden.

This was the marvellously cool product, or non-product, that came off the Commons assembly line at the end of the flaming row they had on the subject yesterday. We have had many a strange scene in Parliament lately, but none stranger than Mr Davies, once the most maladroit of Ministers, delighting the Tories by his handling of this ill-adviced clash.

To demolish the formidable Michael Foot would have been enough. To get the better of Mr Wilson, even in his present unimpressive form, could presumably be claimed as an even bigger success. To meet them both head-on, forged into a white-hot steel front and with a furnace of angry backbenchers behind them, and still come out unscathed, was reckoned a sheer triumph. It makes Mr Davies from now on a man to be reckoned with, politically as well as just managerially.

Mr Foot based his indignation on two things, both of which were quietly disposed of by Mr Davies in a way that brought joy to every steel heart on the Conservative benches. One was the supposed Government objection to figures which Mr Camp had supplied and which Mr Foot had used in a debate. Objection—what objection? The Minister had no desire in the world to deprive MPs of any information from a nationalised industry which they might have reasonably expected, subject always to normal commercial confidence.

The other outrage Mr Davies had committed, in Mr Foot's view, was that he had done so without any notes. This was obviously regarded by Mr Foot—himself the most accomplished "look no notes" man in Parliament—as sheer impertinence and was maintained that there were discrepancies between what Mr Davies actually said and what the departmental handout had promised he was going to say. This is always awkward territory, since backbenchers never get these handouts anyway and all they have to go by are the actual words spoken. It was made more awkward still by Mr Foot's failure to point out just what the discrepancies were.

So Mr Foot seethed and Mr Davies soothed. Mr Foot talked about "disreputable" backstairs methods and Mr Davies knew nothing of them. Mr Foot darkly mentioned a meeting between Sir John Eden and Lord Melchett on May 27, and this did not surprise Mr Davies in the least since they met pretty well every day. So what? Mr Foot got no change at all from Mr Davies. Mr Wilson got even less, and his heavy protest about the "inelegant sacking" of Mr Camp dissolved

into informed of what was being written about it in the press.

Mr Camp said that it was quite wrong, therefore, for Mr Davies to say "that the Government have made no representations to Lord Melchett about information supplied by Mr William Camp of the British Steel Corporation to members of Parliament." Lord Melchett had, in fact, asked Mr Camp to prepare a detailed reply to Sir John Eden's complaints. Mr Camp said that on May 25 Mr R. Peddie, the corporation's managing director (administration) had given him a full account of the meeting.

Earlier, Mr Camp had said that he did not regard his dismissal as in any way normal and that he was taking legal advice.

To any MP

Mr Camp said yesterday that Sir John's three complaints had been:

1 That Mr Camp had supplied information about the corporation to Mr Michael Foot, Opposition spokesman on steel, which had embarrassed Sir John and other Ministers when Mr Foot had used it in the Commons debate on steel on May 24.

(Mr Camp said last night that he had supplied Mr Foot with the same information about the corporation that he, as the corporation's chief information officer, would have given to any other MP of either party or to any other inquirer and that it was in the corporation's interests that the information should be given.)

2 That Mr Camp had provided the "Financial Times" with financial information which was confidential, in particular a figure of £225 millions for a part of the corporation's operations.

(Mr Camp said last night that he had not supplied the information, that the "Financial Times" had made its own calculations, and the fact that they were right was not known to him.)

3 That Mr Camp had included in his daily summary of press reports (which is distributed within the corporation) an article in "Tribune" which suggested that the Government was treating the corporation badly. (Mr Camp said last night that his duty as editor of the summary was to keep the corporate

secret.

The key to the settlement lies with South Africa. In spite of official denials, I understand the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, has been approached to use his influence with Mr Smith. The British feel that Mr Vorster need only send a private message to Salisbury to produce a remarkable change.

I understand the sticking point in the talks came over the pace of African advancement. Mr Smith felt the franchise qualifications proposed by Britain for the settlement constitution were too low, and meant a black government too soon. Mr Smith himself had no worthwhile alternatives to propose.

Patrick Keatley, page 2

Dear Breadwinner

Sorry I laughed when you nearly fell downstairs this morning. Didn't mean to. You were right to be frightened. I was too when I thought of it. The children and I are totally dependent on you. Money would soon run out. Fixing the stair carpet is not enough.

Soon after, your father phoned. "Tell him to give the risk on his life to the Scottish Provident. They are used to accepting risks. In return you get security. It's done so you all benefit—even if he doesn't have an accident."

"He selects one of their endowment assurances. It's only a few pounds a month, whatever he can afford. Then they insure his life for thousands of pounds. Tell him if he doesn't give my favourite daughter-in-law more security I'll disinherit him!" End of message.

Supper is in the oven. Don't burn yourself on the dish. Please fetch me early darling, you know how boring Maggie's bridge evenings are.

Kisses, Tessa.

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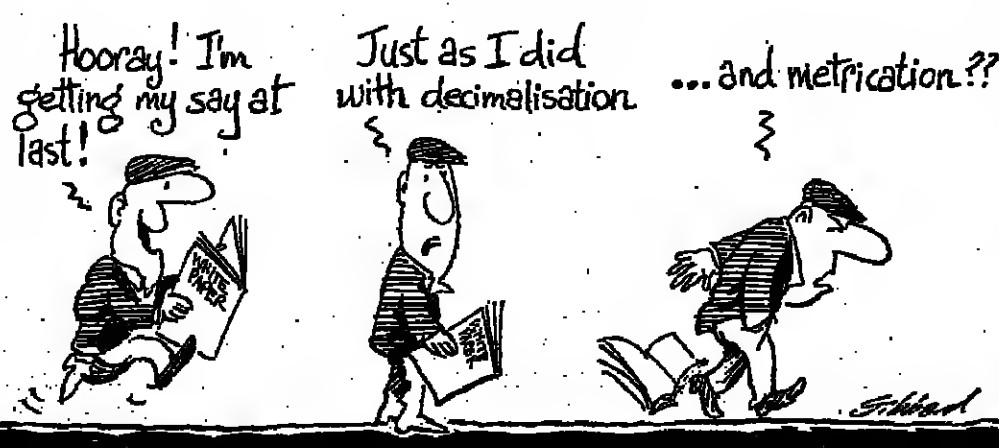
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By T. D. ALLMAN

the largest city in South Asia — a cost-reducing conglomeration of more than two million people as sprung up overnight on the banks of a polluted river in the middle of a featureless landscape. It is a summation of the obvious ills and the advantages of heading rush into a new surface. Bangkok is an ideal case study. It is the streets flood; the people have better means of transport; the climate is impossible; the water is unsafe to drink; the city's feldgeling air complex diffuses a green the colour of a green lung; and the city smells. Petty high-level corruption and meaning hypocrisy are rampant but this urban pathology ills expatriates as well as the superior ratings of the city. And even its detractors concede that it falls into that elusive 'city of cities which manage great without having human populations, great without having human populations, great without having human populations, or the excitement of a great politics'. Bangkok is a brother to New Orleans, Havana, and prewar

bars

Bangkok has no middle, and no typically it resembles a Los Angeles, with cockroaches instead of in the suburbs. Los Angeles has a decayed, Bangkok has a new, the roads are like an indigestible. Instead of the suburban Bangkok has Bangkok, of Kentucky fried concessions, Mexican automobiles, petrol stations, and Continental

the American soldiers out for a good time, but for the millions of Thai for whom it has the same central position as Paris does for the French.

It is all summed up by a Bangkok girl of kind disposition and easy morals. Pretty, overpaid, 18, she is waiting for an English boy friend to send her plane ticket. She says we will live in North 22 but I must go to school in South-west One. . . . It must be so cold there. . . . But the thing I want to know is do the English people like to send me to the States?

Heart and good manners are very important in Bangkok. If you are rich, your wallet will be stolen and the credit cards posted back to you. If you have run out of money, the taxi-driver will take you home free, but will show up next day for a tip.

Bangkok's taxi-drivers personally the city's partial accommodation with the disciplines of modernity. Every taxi, by law, is equipped with a meter. But older is permanently out of order. Such things as hand-held devices are darkly threatened to the Thai way of life, and the drivers have put the cables and bludgeoned the knobs. Prices are unaffected, but must be determined by an elaborate bargaining process. The city's establishing diplomatic relations with the whole city on a personal basis" was how a newcomer saw it.

One of Bangkok's mysteries is how such a supremely unappealing city manages to appear so attractive. The Guide and Ball in guide books and picture postcards. The reason is two-fold. The hideous whole is constantly relieved by the flashes of colour and covers of the city. The Thai love so much. Orchids are set against pigs' intestines. Little boys sell flower wreaths along with newspapers to motorists.

And the Thais themselves are richly photogenic. Thailand is justly called the Land of the smile, like the American motto, roughly translated "Never mind" the smile can mean anything: Yes; No; I like you; Please go away. If the foreigner does mind, he should take the next plane out.

The insane asylums of the east are all with foreigners who tried to extend Bangkok's veneer of Westernisation beneath the surface. Unlike Hongkong or Singapore, Bangkok lacks both the blandness and the efficiency that arrived with the Union Jack.

Of Bangkok's million wage earners, the majority do not derive their incomes from the primary sector of transport. Government service, light industry or small business. The relative affluence of most rests on the multiplied effect of foreign money which has been poured into the city by the war rather than necessity — the Vietnam war and the instability of neighbouring regimes have meant an influx of capital that has allowed Bangkok to thrive for years beyond its means. The city has more than a million dollars worth of air-conditioners annually from America alone and enjoys a per capita income about twice the national average of \$75.

Will Bangkok's thread of prosperity ever break? It is already somewhat frayed. Nonetheless, the R and R soldier that Americans are coming in big numbers, the enormous US expenditures on military bases have ended and the rice glut is eroding the country's foreign exchange reserves, the city has begun to slow down perceptibly.

Transition

But more menacing factors cloud Bangkok's future than a predictable period of economic transition. The city's engaging, if somewhat disreputable, amiability rests on two factors. Neither the degradation of over-population nor the exploitation of an industrial revolution has alienated Bangkok's millions from their humanity.

But the city's continuing inability to cope with its enormous growth and Thailand's soaring birth rate may do just that. Although the country remains underpopulated by world standards, its population is growing, virtually unchecked by 3.3 per cent, or one million a year. The youngest sons and unwanted daughters flow into a city which is becoming increasingly ineffective escape valve for over-population and rising expectations.

In the absence of a Government commitment to strenuous birth control or effective city administration, the city will become Calcutta in less than a generation and with none of nineteenth century Manchester's productivity.

In Bangkok, such dire predictions fall on deaf ears. The city's predilection to live for the moment and hold the status quo rather than to its impermanent record as the Thai nation's contact point with modernity

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Tokyo, July 7
Sources here said the United States Navy is planning a major fleet exercise in the Pacific, which would involve the Seventh Fleet in the waters off Japan. The sources said the exercise would be a test of the fleet's ability to operate in the Western Pacific, and would be a demonstration of the fleet's readiness to respond to any crisis in the area. The sources said the exercise would be a major test of the fleet's ability to operate in the Western Pacific, and would be a demonstration of the fleet's readiness to respond to any crisis in the area. The sources said the exercise would be a major test of the fleet's ability to operate in the Western Pacific, and would be a demonstration of the fleet's readiness to respond to any crisis in the area.

Japan 'seeking nuclear arms'

From ROSS TERRILL: Peking, July 7

In a two-hour talk on Monday with an Australian Labour Party delegation led by Mr Gough Whitlam, the Chinese Premier, Chou En-lai, accused Japan of seeking nuclear weapons, and spoke bluntly of China's opposition to the policy of "controlling others" practised by America, Russia, and Japan.

Exchanging spirited remarks with Mr Whitlam, Premier Chou stressed among other things Pekings' disapproval of all foreign bases, China's bitter experience with Russia as a lesson for other nations who might be entangled with "unreliable allies," and China's positive assessment of present American public opinion.

The talk took place in the Great Hall of the People. Other Chinese present included Chi Peng-fei, acting Foreign Minister, and Pao Hsiang-kuo, Foreign Trade Minister.

Premier Chou was in dramatic mood like an actor, he tossed his silver beard and waved his slender hands for emphasis. His blue-grey tunic sported a badge inscribed "Serve the people."

Chou, courting the Labour Party out of dissatisfaction with

the Australian Government, nevertheless backed the delegation on SEATO. He said it was one of several treaties springing from the "soul" of the former US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles aimed at encircling China.

"Now our northern neighbour, Dulles's successor," said Chou about Moscow.

Premier Chou then sought to equate, in an analogy that seemed strained, Australian experience with the United States and Chinese experience with the Soviet Union. To Australian protestations that Russia and America were not the same, he rejoined: "But they both want to control others."

A picture was painted of Japan, Russia, and the United States as triple threats to a "tranquil world." When Mr Whitlam submitted that the "soul of Dulles no longer marches on," Chou partly agreed and warmly praised the US people.

Chou's main purpose seemed to be to badger Mr Whitlam on Australia's alliance with the US, and on its possibly insufficient awareness of Japanese desires. Later in the day, between China and Australia were hardly discussed—Washington Post.

'Russia's poets are adults'

By HENRY SHAPIRO

The Soviet poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko, in a speech published today, complained that the literary establishment does not trust the management of literary affairs to writers of his generation and demanded an end of the recurrence of Stalin era practices.

His speech was made at the quadrennial Congress of Writers, which met in the Kremlin last week but, presumably because of the opposition of the literary components, the full text was not published earlier in "Literaturnaya Gazeta," official organ of the Writers' Union.

"My contemporaries," the 38-year-old Yevtushenko told the 500 delegates, "are at the controls of cosmic ships. They only controls they are not writers. Our literary magazines."

"Everybody thinks we still are children and cannot be trusted with the toys of science which may break because of inexperience."

Referring to the destalinization period, he went on to say: "We have withstood the tests of many years, but clarifications, and if we have lost our blind infantile faith in certain apparent values, we have become imbued with skepticism, about faith in our people, its historical path, the ideals of our society,

Ceausescu demands a cultural purge for Rumanians

Vienna, July 7

President Ceausescu of Rumania directed the Rumanian Communist Party today to launch a nationwide campaign to re-institute Communist purity and discipline throughout society.

His directive, submitted to the executive committee of the party's central committee in Bucharest, was couched in the language of the Communist epochs and it appeared to herald a cultural purge and a new wave of puritanism, observers said.

Mr Ceausescu, party leader as well as President, called on the nation to combat "cosmopolitanism," to purge "influences" and to work harder and more honestly. The rôle of the worker in society should be more respected, he said.

The President's appeal appears to signal the end of the "open society" programme and aims in his country, and it will come as a blow to Rumanian youth which appears fascinated by most aspects of Western — particularly American — life, observers said.

Ceausescu has recently returned from an Asian tour where he studied the militant, collective brand of communism which prevails since the cultural revolution in China.

The presidential directive, published by the Rumanian agencies, the Rumanian news

revolutionary propaganda in all reaches of society, especially "in schools and the entertainment and cultural world."

It demanded prohibition of alcoholic drinks in youth establishments, an end to parasitism, devotion to Marxist ideals and replacement of bourgeois amusement by Rumanian national songs, operas, dances, and satire. Rumanian peasants should be seen more often in their programmes, the President declared.

A principal target will be youth, especially "parasites" — a Communist term for drop-outs who live on their parents. The party must encourage them to work on building sites and public utility work, the President decreed.

Guidance from the party's central committee must be applied in drawing up educational programmes. One third of summer training for teachers should be devoted to political information and ideological debate, the decree stated. — Reuter.

● Mr Tudor Zhivkov, the First Secretary of Bulgaria's Communist Party, resigned as Bulgaria's Prime Minister today and was immediately elected to the newly created post of President. Mr Stanko Todorov, aged 51, Zhivkov's deputy as party leader, was elected the new Prime Minister by the one-party Parliament.

Jewish exodus swells

Moscow, July 7

The flow of Jews from Russia to Israel reached its highest rate last month when more than 1,300 received exit visas, diplomatic sources said today.

The sources could not immediately disclose the exact number but said it was higher than the figure of 1,300 for April "and it may be considerably higher."

April's emigration had been the highest for any month since Israel's formation in 1948. Emigration restrictions were tightened in March after months of militant protests, hunger strikes, protest letters and petitions. The government with unusual restraint by the authorities who arrested no more than a handful of those involved. Many who took part in the protests were granted exit permits and most of those arrested were convicted of "hooliganism" and given nominal sentences.

Until this year the emigration rate for Jews ran at about 100 a month on average. In March the figure shot up to 1,025 and April to 1,300. It dropped slightly in May to about 950.

By the end of June will bring total emigration to more than 5,000 so far in 1971, more than twice as many as in any year since the proclamation of the State of Israel.

Jet deal riot by students

From our Correspondent

Lusaka, July 7

Police battled for four hours today to put down a riot by 1,000 University of Zambia students protesting against the French decision to allow South Africa to manufacture Mirage jet fighters under licence.

The demonstrators attacked the French Embassy and diplomats sought cover in the building. They smashed every window in the building. The students then scaled a wall and tore down the French tricolour.

Police retaliated by firing tear-gas shells and making baton charges. Fifty people were arrested and four students injured.

It was the worst outbreak of its kind since students attacked the British High Commission four miles from the city in protests over Britain's arms policy for South Africa.

President Kaunda and other Zambian leaders have particularly hurt that the French are giving South Africa new military assistance. Only last year, Mr Kaunda led an Organisation of African Unity mission to persuade the United Nations to ban arms sales to South Africa. Its only notable success was in Paris where President Pompidou apparently promised that an order of French helicopters for South Africa would be cancelled. He assured the mission that France would never provide South Africa with military equipment which could be used against African liberation movements.

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What the White Paper does not say

Hella Pick explains the significance of some deliberate omissions

The Government in its White Paper has set out to make the case for joining the European Community, but it has left unanswered a great many questions. Some of the gaps are inevitable — they involve negotiations and calculations that cannot be made yet. But there are also quite deliberate omissions that have their roots mainly in political considerations.

The unanswered questions range far and wide. The Government has not attempted to calculate the cost of membership beyond the first five years. It carefully avoids any attempt to measure the effect of membership on Britain's trade. It does not categorically assert that national income will grow as a consequence of membership. It merely assumes that Britain's contributions to the Community Budget will, in the long run, be more than offset by the economic gains of membership.

To guard against disaster, the Six have subscribed to a commitment that if Britain's payments to the Community Budget lead to unacceptable situations, the very survival of the Community would depend on the institutions and equitable solutions. Britain's negotiators were so relieved to extract this commitment that no attempt was made to secure a definition of what might constitute "unacceptable situations." This is one answer which Britain perhaps hopes it will never need to know.

Although the Government is

putting so much emphasis on the political case for joining the Community it is very reticent on the subject of European political construction. The White Paper promises British support for the EEC's economic and monetary union, but there is no attempt to discuss the political implications of this project.

The Government does not say whether it would support the kind of centralised decision-making that would be inevitable if the union ever comes to have any real meaning. Nor does the White Paper provide any answers to those who might want to have their views on the future role of the European Parliament, or indeed on the development of the Community on federal lines as distinct from the more confederal ideas to which President Pompidou clings with such tenacity.

The White Paper goes no further than to assert that Britain will not be restricted on essential sovereignty and that decisions of vital interest will be taken unanimously — in other words that each member State will be able to exercise a veto over matters it considers important. The Government apparently justifies its reticence on European political construction by insisting that the White Paper is devoted to the case for joining the EEC as it is now, rather than to any assessment of the Community's political perspective.

In making the economic case for joining the EEC, the White Paper repeats an argument that has often been made both in

Britain and Community countries — namely that together the Western European nations can organise themselves to compete with these giants (the international corporations based outside Europe, especially the American ones), which are otherwise bound to go on increasing their share of the European industrial markets.

Little progress

But the White Paper ignores entirely the fact that the Six have made little progress in their efforts to adopt a common industrial policy. Nor does it say just how the combined resources of the Community could be used to contain the multinational companies, especially in the kind of outward-looking Community which Britain wants to see. Many observers argue that the multinational companies are already far too deeply implanted in Europe for the Community to set itself up as a rival. The White Paper does not consider this view.

The entry negotiations have left a great many questions unresolved, and it will no doubt be argued that the entry terms are still far from clear. Some of

the answers will be found before the end of the year. But some vital issues have been left vague deliberately and put on the shelf until Britain is a member of the Community and can negotiate on the basis of full equality with its veto power as additional insurance. The Government, of course, admits that the negotiations are not complete — merely that the vital issues have been discussed and acceptable solutions found.

It is clear from the White Paper and even more from the record of the actual negotiations that the really tough talks will only begin when Britain and the Six get down to talking about sterling as a reserve currency some time in 1972, when the clock-ticking guarantees for New Zealand's butter markets come to be reviewed in 1974, and when association agreements with the sugar producers and with other developing members of the Commonwealth have to be negotiated in 1975. It also looks as if Britain will agree to leave negotiation of the controversial fisheries policy until the Community is enlarged.

Britain has never admitted that sterling was an issue in the membership negotiations. But Mr Heath accepted that it could not be ignored. At the Paris summit he agreed that

the future of sterling as a reserve currency would be discussed after Britain became a member of the Community.

No decision has been reached on how to reduce the sterling balances or the rate at which this should be attempted. But there is no doubt that there are many different ideas both in Britain and inside the Community on how to tackle this. The negotiations will be difficult. The solutions cannot be defined now.

Britain fought hard for New Zealand's interest and managed to secure the Community's agreement to a detailed review clause that defines the criteria that will be used to determine the "continuation of special arrangements for New Zealand's butter" beyond 1977. But all the discussions that preceded this compromise demonstrated that the French approach to New Zealand was far less generous than Britain's, and that the other members of the Community also had their doubts.

If Denmark joins the Community, it might well oppose competition from New Zealand. It is certain that the review of New Zealand's guarantees will lead to protected and extremely delicate negotiations.

The sugar issue might well

prove even more difficult. The Community has stated its "firm purpose" to safeguard the interests of the sugar producers in the developing Commonwealth. Britain and the Commonwealth sugar-producers have interpreted this phrase as a firm assurance of a secure and continuing market in the enlarged Community on fair terms for the quantities of sugar covered by the Commonwealth sugar agreement (which expires in 1974).

On record

This statement has been placed on record with the Community. But the Six have not said whether they accept the interpretation. They merely intended to close the negotiation on sugar at this point and to reopen it when the association agreements come to be determined in 1975. Nobody is under any illusions that there will be great difficulties in securing agreement.

The existing Community countries will be under heavy pressure from their own former colonies to secure their, at present neglected, sugar interests. The beet sugar farmers of France, as well as of other EEC countries, will also be pleading their own interests.

Not all the important unanswered questions are being left to the enlarged Community. Negotiations on several issues will continue this year and Britain hopes they will be determined before very long. The negotiators are busy at this time working out adjustments to Britain's exchange controls on capital movement, which at present work in favour of the sterling area, to align Britain's practices with those of the Community.

Britain has asked for a 5-year transition, with the rate of adjustment depending on the kind of capital movement involved. The Community is expected to accept the British proposals. Even so the White Paper admits that it is unable to calculate the cost of these adjustments.

Britain is also tying up various ends of joining Euratom. It must define how "knowledge of an equivalent value" to that which Britain will acquire from Euratom, should be deposited with the Community. This is more of a joke than a difficulty. The oldest issue for Britain — this point is undoubtedly fish, and the likelihood is that next week's Ministerial meeting on the subject will be inconclusive.

Arrangements for the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man must soon be made. The White Paper says Britain is seeking association for them. But it ignores all the pressure, especially from the Channel Islands, to be left alone as a happy tax haven.

Questions that affect enlargement of the Community from six to ten members are certainly being resolved before the end of the year. Ireland, Norway, and Denmark have completed their negotiations on the main issues.

Ireland is virtually assured success. Norway, and Denmark's positions are far more complex. There are no major problems between Denmark and the Community. But Denmark's membership cannot be divorced from Norway's, from the arrangements that still have to be negotiated between the EEC and EFTA neutrals, especially Sweden.

Norway has asked for special treatment both for its fish and for its farmers. But it is certain whether the Community will give all of Norway's requirements. What is not certain is whether the Community has the will to determine what manner of trade arrangements it will make with Sweden.

The Scandinavian countries could not contemplate arrangements that broke up far-reaching economic integration of the Nordic area. In Norway and Denmark, with referendums on the membership issue, the Community makes arrangements that can satisfy all the Nordic countries. The referendums could well go against membership. The White Paper has, therefore, not been able to indicate whether Britain would be part of a Community of 10 or of only eight or nine countries.

Food prices expected to rise by 15 pc

By JOHN FAIRHALL, Agricultural Correspondent

Two figures stand out from the White Paper's food and agricultural section — the forecasts of a 15 per cent rise in food prices and an 8 per cent expansion in British agricultural production. The 15 per cent is a lowering of the forecast of a rise of 18 to 26 per cent during the transitional period given in the 1970 White Paper.

Fisheries issue is wide open

By MICHAEL LAKE

The White Paper underlines the major concession won from the EEC on fish — that the fisheries policy is now wide open for review and rewriting. In fact the Government has virtually abandoned its own proposals for a six-mile fishing limit in favour of an Irish suggestion that all current fishing limits should remain in being pending agreement at some future date.

Considering the amount of heat generated by the question of fishing limits the issue gets short shrift in the White Paper — two paragraphs sandwiched between an even shorter section on animal health and a long passage on coal and steel.

Not appropriate

"We and the applicant countries have made it clear," the document says, "that we do not consider the common fisheries policy... to be appropriate to the needs and circumstances of an enlarged Community."

It adds, delicately stepping between the two opposed groups of British fishermen, "About two-thirds of our 21,000 fishermen are mainly interested

in fishing around our shores, but in terms of value of catch the distant waters fleets are of great importance." The inshore men have vigorously opposed the Government's proposal to the Community that there should be a six-mile limit. They want to retain the full 12-mile limit, which, although allowing access to designated waters in certain areas for specific species, also gives considerable protection.

The Government leans in favour of the trawlermen who, although less numerous, catch 60 per cent or more of Britain's fish, and who want a Community-wide six-mile limit so that they can penetrate the 12-mile limits around Norway, the Faroes, and Greenland.

But Mr Austen Lalng, director-general of the British Fishermen's Federation, said in July yesterday that he was perturbed at the sympathetic attitude apparently being adopted towards Norway's demand for a special 12-mile limit. Mr Lalng said that Norway, which had the largest surplus of fish exports wanted to take this into the Community and to retain their own exclusive rights to catch the fish well.

Spread over the transitional period and the months immediately afterwards, the 15 per cent works out at about a 21 per cent rise in retail food prices a year. This, the White Paper says, would mean about 1 per cent each year on the cost of living, as food accounts for a quarter of the total consumer expenditure.

The average rise will contain a wide range, from perhaps over 50 per cent up for butter and cheese to seasonal price reductions for some fruit and vegetables. Beef is also expected to rise by well above the average rate. Bread, flour, and eggs should have an average rise, and others such as milk, fish, oils and fats, tea and coffee, should show little change.

The White Paper emphasises that there is no harmonisation of food prices in London and the capitals of the Six.

The common agricultural policy affects only the raw food costs. Some 25 per cent of third and a half of retail food prices is contributed by processing and distribution. As Britain's food distribution system is markedly more efficient than some of those in the Six — the French, in particular — retail food prices here should generally stay below some Community levels.

The White Paper holds out the promise of a better overall return for British farmers and gives the estimate of an additional expansion of some 8 per cent overall as a result of entry by 1977. This would be in addition to the normal expansion rates of about 2 per cent a year. Cereals would provide the biggest production increase, followed by hog and milk, with lot more going into cheese and sugar beet.

The special transition arrangements for horticulture are given in the White Paper with nothing new to alter the prospect of hard times ahead in Northern Ireland for the industry. But it stresses the need for more education on the effects locally and says that the real issues have been clouded in Northern Ireland by political matters and anxieties about increases in food prices and the cost of living.

The CBI said that it saw no immediate or medium-term danger to Northern Ireland's system of investment incentives in the EEC's regional policy. It anticipated no great difficulties for small firms and said that earlier apprehension among Ulster farmers had decreased to some degree.

The study also concluded that if the United Kingdom goes in to the Republic of Ireland is likely to follow, and the economic border between Northern Ireland and the Republic would lose much of its significance.

Sir Patrick Reilly, Britain's ambassador to Paris during the Labour Government, said yesterday that if Britain rejected the terms of entry to the Market, it would be going exactly what in 1963 and 1967 it said it should not do — turning its back on Europe.

Sir Patrick, now chairman of the overseas policy committee of the Associated British Chambers of Commerce, said he personally believed the terms were reasonable. "Opponents

COMM. 4715 (price 25p) did the best business at the Government bookshop in Holborn yesterday. It started selling it at 3.30, in the afternoon, and in half an hour had sold the first 6,500 copies, and had to send for further supplies.

People started hanging around for it in the lunch-hour, and the queue established itself as a permanent feature. They were interested only in "The United Kingdom and the European Communities." They ignored "Pollution of Water by Tipped Refuse," "Sex Linkage in Poultry Breeding," "The Identification of Common Water Weeds," and turned a blind eye to "The Measurement of Upper Winds by Means of Pilot Balloons" and "Commercial Rabbit Production."

Mr Leslie Markham, group accountant to an engineering firm, was in the queue because he was a devoted Common Marketeer, and was tired of reading in the papers about the problems of joining. "I want to hear about the advantages," he said. Miss Maureen Langston, a secretary in the foreign division of a pet and cattle food firm, had been asked to buy four copies. Her boss dealt mainly with the Caribbean, and she was not too

sure about the Six. "I'm still very hesitant," she said. There were a lot of people in the queue, just out of interest, a sense of duty, perhaps, and a desire to arm themselves for any great or little debate which might occur. "It's the first chance we've had to study the facts," Mr Ernest Still, a telephone engineer, who was against joining the Six, but he must not be sure. Miss June Bristol, who used to be a student in France and now works in a solicitor's office, would rival Edward Heath for fervour. "It's the biggest best, and most exciting opportunity we've had for 100 years," she said.

It was all good business for the bookshop, but not the best business they have had. There was the nascently rush

for Lord Denning's findings on the Profumo affair eight years ago, and a Budget of five years ago did very nicely, selling 12,000 copies in the first 45 minutes.

The Industrial Relations Bill did well, too. "That went like a bomb," Mr Max Horsford, one of the booksellers, said. "We were selling it at the back of the queue, in the middle of the queue, in the front of the queue, and in the shop. Of course, we'll sell it all over again when it becomes an Act. We're crafty like that."

It is too soon to tell if "The United Kingdom and the European Communities" will become a true bestseller, or just a flash in the pan. It will have to be a real stayer to compete with "The ABC of Cookery" which came out first in the Second World War and has been going strong ever since.

at serious economic argument or objectivity. "It is an exercise in crude misleading propaganda," he said.

The White Paper did not mention the loss of British exports to the EEC, and the Commonwealth of Nations. The Common Market terms to Parliament — were made last night.

Mr Anthony Royle, a junior Minister at the Foreign Office, told a meeting of the London Europe Society at Chelsea: "No one who holds or hopes to hold in the future a position of responsibility for this nation's destiny can pretend that this is not the best chance for all our people."

Mr Eldon Griffiths, Minister of Sport, said in London to a delegation of young people from Hamburg that he suspected the majority of those who opposed Britain's entry into the Common Market were of the older generation.

Mr Douglas Jay, Labour MP for Battersea North, said the White Paper made no attempt

the Communists; in France, perhaps a handful of diehard ultra-nationalists.

"Everywhere else in Europe, and especially among our best friends, there will be dismay and consternation — and all too often I fear scorn and derision. And none will be more agast than those to whom our own Left should be closest — Socialists and trades unions, and especially in the continent's biggest socialist party, the ruling SPD in West Germany."

Mr George Thomson, who would have had the task of conducting EEC negotiations under Labour, yesterday strongly reaffirmed his support for British entry. He told a "Europe Now or Never" conference in London that, if he did not go in, we would inevitably condemn ourselves to a second-class existence compared with our European neighbours.

Mr Thomson, the Shadow Defence Secretary, added: "The basic fact is that over the past 10 years people of the Community have been getting better off at a faster rate than us."

Cumulative evidence of graphs showed the Common Market countries growing at this faster rate, and "the British people have got to face that, if you project these graphs forward, you have a recipe for national disaster."

He forecast that the Commons vote next October would be the greater conscious decision the British people and people have ever taken."

Outside the Community, he added, life would go on, but at a lower and lower level. "The result, I believe, in the long run, disaster for this country."

Mr Thomson dismissed the idea of a North Atlantic free trade area, as this would turn Britain more and more into an

economic satellite of the United States. "And the Commonwealth presented no cohesive alternative."

The one-day conference was jointly sponsored by London Chambers of Commerce, the Federal Trust for Education and Research, and the Consultative Group of Greater London.

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The queue for the White Paper at the Stationery Office, High Holborn. (Picture by Don Morley)

Texts selling like hot cakes

By OLIVER PRITCHETT

Some had been sent by their firms to buy 20 or 30, or even 80, copies, and this is why the bookshop was taken by surprise at the demand. Mr John Phillips, the manager, said he had expected most companies to buy one copy and circulate a summary.

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Heath wants 'great debate'

The Government would like the approval of Parliament in the autumn for a decision principle to take up full membership of the EEC, the Prime Minister told a crowded Commons yesterday.

Mr Heath, in a brief statement, described the Common Market White Paper, published yesterday, as a "comprehensive and detailed document," "inevitably long." The Government had, therefore, decided to publish a short version on Monday, he said.

He said the Government was convinced the country would more secure its ability to maintain peace and promote development in the world through its stronger and more prosperous if it joined European Communities that it remained outside.

"The Government is sure that the arrangements for entry agreed in the negotiations will enable us to adjust satisfactorily to our new position as a member of the Community and thus to reap the benefits of membership," he said.

"The Government will, therefore, seek the approval of Parliament in the autumn for decision in principle to take full membership of the Communities on the basis of arrangements which have been negotiated with them."

Mr Wilson, the Leader of the Opposition, asked for it to be arranged for the Leader of the House, Mr Whitelaw, to tell the House of the arrangements of the debate the following day.

Now that the White Paper had been published, the House and the country could have a "great debate" based on substance — a debate which could not really get off the ground until the terms of entry were known.

Mr Heath said the Leader of the House would be prepared to make a statement the next day about the details of the coming debate. Proper time would be allowed for a study of the White Paper before the debate. "I agree that it is right that the great debate should begin."

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS

Announcements, authenticated by the name and permanent address of the person making the announcement, should be sent to the Guardian at 21, John Street, London W.C.2, or to the publishers, Messrs. John W. & Sons, Ltd., 1, Abchurch Lane, London E.C.4. Telephone: 01-353 7011 or 01-353 7012. The publishers accept no responsibility for the accuracy of the information supplied by the signatories of birth notices and are not responsible for the accuracy of the information supplied by the signatories of marriage notices and are not responsible for the accuracy of the information supplied by the signatories of death notices.

BIRTHS

FAIRHURST — On July 5, 1971, to Edinburgh, to MURIEL (nee Macdonald) and JOHN, a daughter.

ENGAGEMENTS

FIELING-PILLING — The engagement is announced between Miss ABIGAIL HELEN PILLING, only daughter of Mr. and Mrs. R. PILLING, 216 Newmarket Lane, London N.16, and Mr. R. FIELING-PILLING, only son of Mr. and Mrs. R. FIELING-PILLING, 67 Carnarvon Road, Lymington S.11.

LEWIS-MORRIS — The engagement is announced between Mr. WILLIAM EDWARD MORRIS, son of Mr. and Mrs. W. MORRIS, 14 Riverside Avenue, Wokingham, Berks, and Miss ABIGAIL MORRIS, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. MORRIS, 14 Riverside Avenue, Wokingham, Berks.

SMITH — On July 5, 1971, the engagement is announced between Mr. GILBERT SMITH, son of Mr. and Mrs. G. SMITH, 14 Riverside Avenue, Wokingham, Berks, and Miss ABIGAIL SMITH, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. SMITH, 14 Riverside Avenue, Wokingham, Berks.

FURNISH — On July 5, 1971, the engagement is announced between Mr. GILBERT FURNISH, son of Mr. and Mrs. G. FURNISH, 14 Riverside Avenue, Wokingham, Berks, and Miss ABIGAIL FURNISH, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. FURNISH, 14 Riverside Avenue, Wokingham, Berks.

BECK — On July 5, 1971, the engagement is announced between Mr. GILBERT BECK, son of Mr. and Mrs. G. BECK, 14 Riverside Avenue, Wokingham, Berks, and Miss ABIGAIL BECK, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. BECK, 14 Riverside Avenue, Wokingham, Berks.

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HOME NEWS

Strike pay depletes union funds

By KEITH HARPER

Britain's second largest union, alarmed at the way funds have dwindled by £4 millions over the past years, has asked its accountants for a detailed breakdown of how it is spending the money.

The total assets of the engineering section of the amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundryworkers now stand at £14.75 millions—a drop of £1.28 million on the previous year.

At a special meeting of the executive this week, accountants went through the union's financial report by page.

The most glaring increase in expenditure has been in strike pay. Last year, the union spent £605,000. This year, it has reached £1 million.

As the union's policy of supporting strikes, this respect, the engineers in a similar position as the Transport General Workers' Union, is also paying a bigger proportion of its

in strike pay. Dispute funds in the TGVU topped £1 million last year, compared with £225,747 in 1965.

BSC faces tough pay negotiations

By OUR LABOUR STAFF

A new round of tough negotiations faces the British Steel Corporation over the by 15,000 blastfurnace-

for a substantial pay rise. A further official action—now a strong possibility if the talks fail.

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Powell warns again

By our own Reporter

Mr Enoch Powell returned to his most doomsday and classical language at Whiteley's Café, Huddersfield, yesterday, to urge the Government to use the new Immigration Bill to replace net Commonwealth immigration by net Commonwealth emigration.

He said there were dangers in knowingly and deliberately accepting a future in which a quarter or fifth of cities would consist of New Commonwealth immigrants.

Referring only to the "repatriation clauses" in the Bill, he said the Government had provided itself with the means to apply public money and public organisation to this purpose.

Addressing the Huddersfield Junior Chamber of Commerce, he declared: "On the scale and determination with which they do so it is not too much to say that the future of only of towns like yours and mine but of the country itself depends."

For the next few years the Government's responsibility was crucial. "Britain stands poised over a fateful decision, one more fateful even than membership of the European Community, a decision in the strictest sense irreversible."

He said the decision could be taken by doing nothing until it was too late.

Mr Powell used emigration figures to argue that the ratio of the coloured population to the total increased far more rapidly than one would suppose from looking at the coloured increase in isolation.

He also claimed that net immigration from the New Commonwealth between May last year, and April, this year, was "over 40,000"—more than 10 per cent higher than in the earlier 12 months.

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Penny Vinson (centre) is settling in as the newly appointed warden of the permanent gypsy camp at Tyttenhanger, near St Albans. The warden's job ranges from collecting the £2.50 weekly rent to organising evening activities in the Community Room

'Bad faith' over council house sales attacked

COUNCILS WHICH reversed decisions to sell council houses should be required to compensate adequately any prospective purchaser who had entered into negotiations, Mr Norman Tebbit (C. Epping) said in the Commons.

Constituents had spent their life savings, sold their cars, and cancelled holidays to make improvements to houses they believed they would be able to buy, he said. They were "astounded at the ill-faith of the arrogant politicians of those who denied this to them."

MR WALKER, Secretary for the Environment, told Mr Tom Urwin (Lab., Houghton-le-Spring) it was estimated that the halving of SET would cut building costs by 1 to 2 per cent, or about £60 on the cost of an average three-bedroomed house. Mr Urwin thought there was little likelihood of the

reduction in tax being passed on to the buyer.

THE Television Licensing (Elderly Persons) Bill, which provides for a cheaper television licence for old-age pensioners, passed its committee stage. But, because of lack of reservation on motorways last year.

THE Motor Insurers' Bureau paid about £38,000 to June 25 to meet claims against Vehicle and General policyholders, Mr Peyton said.

THE Transport Holding Company hoped to complete the sale of Lunn-Poly to Cunard shortly.

THE publicity campaign for improvement grants was followed by an increase of 26 per cent in the number of grants approved in the first four months of this year, compared with the same period in 1970, Mr Amery, Minister for Housing and Construction said.

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Judge orders 'fire risk' hotel to close

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

A High Court judge yesterday ordered a London hotel to close until adequate fire escapes were installed.

Mr Justice Plowman said that if the Hyde Park International Hotel was to operate during the month it would take to carry out the agreed safety work, guests would be subject to the risk of losing their lives.

"That may sound dramatic, but it is literally true," the judge said, "and this court is not so powerless as to be unable to prevent that state of affairs." The Greater London Council had asked the High Court to order that the 73-bed hotel in Inverness Terrace, Paddington, be shut down. The GLC alleged that as a result of building work at the hotel, it was a serious fire trap.

Mr Justice Plowman said the hotel's owners, Mr and Mrs Chaudry, had been warned of the possible consequences if they persisted in using the premises as an hotel without the GLC's approval, but they had declined to do so. They had declined to give an undertaking, and he had to deal with the matter on the basis that they might, at any moment, change their minds and take in guests again.

The owners had always known what the legal requirements were. They had been professionally advised when they modernised the hotel, and the GLC in May had warned them of the consequences if they persisted in using the premises as

£90,000 more

The Department of Education has increased its grant to the British Academy for the coming year by over £90,000, to £390,500.

'Tell tales' cut women's benefits

SINGLE women with children are in danger of having their supplementary benefit stopped if anonymous neighbours suggest that a man has stayed the night in their home, two MPs said yesterday.

Dame Joan Vickers, Conservative MP for Devonport, and Miss Joan Lester, Labour MP for Eton and Slough, claimed that while the Supplementary Benefits Commission rules that allowances should be adjusted for single women who are cohabiting—sharing a common home and pooling their household funds with an employed man—too often local officials, in Miss Lester's words, "are trying to prove they are having sexual intercourse."

The MPs are launching a

campaign to ensure that an allowance continues to be paid when a family disputes the reason for cutting it off, until an appeal to a tribunal is heard; and that every case of cutting off an allowance should come before a tribunal. At present, they said yesterday, too many people were so embarrassed by the accusations that they did not dispute the ending of the payments.

Mr Frank Field, Secretary of the Child Poverty Action Group, which is backing the campaign, yesterday praised the Supplementary Benefits Commission for laying its procedures open to the community but said the machinery did not work as smoothly as it appeared to. Benefit was sometimes cut off for cohabiting when, if local officers had read the

handbook on cohabitation, they would not have cut it off. In nearly all cases taken up by the CPAG, benefit had been restored, but he believed that most of the 4,300 cases where allowances were reduced or withdrawn for cohabitation in 1970 (excluding fictitious desertions) would not stand up if tested.

In one case he quoted, a woman called the police to eject a man she had been living with for three weeks and who was the father of her child. Her landlord then decided she was an easy touch and hammered on the door at night. When she refused him, he informed the Supplementary Benefits Commission local office. When an officer arrived, he refused to search the flat so that she could establish there was no one else

there, and tore up her benefit book. Dame Joan Vickers said: "A chap may come to a multi-occupied house and stay overnight. If a neighbour tells, an officer comes round, the allowance is cut off—and all that may have occurred is that the man has missed his bus."

Mr Field said that anonymous callers were responsible for most tip-offs. It was remarkable how quickly officers came round—even though complaints about non-payment of benefit might take weeks to answer.

Speakers at the press conference to launch the campaign yesterday emphasised that the effect of the local practices of officers was to discourage the women involved from establishing permanent relationships, since once they

started courting, they were in danger of losing benefit. Miss Lester said: "Supposing a man stays the night and sleeps with a woman, he is supposed to pay her." The MPs are to seek an adjournment debate in the Commons on the subject.

The Department of Health and Social Security said last night that mistakes sometimes occurred in a service employing 18,000, many of them reflecting the values of the local community, and all subject to the tensions inherent in a changing society. If anyone knew of cases which they claimed had not been properly investigated, they should let the department know.

Martin Adeney

Miners warned by new chief

The new chairman of the National Union of Mineworkers yesterday warned of "serious consequences" for the industry if its prices rose faster than those of other fuels.

He was speaking to a National Union of Mineworkers conference in Aberdeen on 24 hours after the leaders of 280,000 pit workers decided to press the board for wage rises of up to 47 per cent and to their claims with the threat of industrial action.

It would be risky if prices rose substantially over the rate at which other fuel prices went up, Mr Ezra said.

"We would be placed on more in a very exposed position with serious consequences for the industry. It is thus essential that we exercise the greatest care and restraint in increasing our prices again at a time like the rate at which we have had to increase them over the past 12 months."

Mr Ezra said that enlargement of the Common Market would put the industry in a stronger position to satisfy the EEC's need for coal. He was speaking in the face of what was to be an overwhelming NUM vote today against enlargement.

The industry's chief target was a far stronger position for Mr Lawrence Daly, the union's general secretary, told the conference that serious industrial conflict might erupt if the industrial relations Bill became law and men going into the pits to their right under the Bill to join the union.

The conference unanimously carried a motion opposing the Bill and demanding its withdrawal.

Negligence killed bridge painters

BY OUR CORRESPONDENT

Two men who were killed by a train when they were painting a railway bridge were victims of "terrible negligence," Dr Mary McHugh, the Croydon coroner, said yesterday.

Every single safety rule was broken, she said, and she criticised the lack of communication between British Rail and the contractors employed to paint the station bridge at Chislehurst, Kent.

The men Mr Maurice Mansell, aged 56, of East Hill, Wandsworth, and Mr Alexander Paul, aged 36, of Ermine Road, Lewisham, were struck by a diesel engine travelling at 60 mph. They were working near a pneumatic tool and did not hear a whistle blown by the train's lookout, the inquest heard.

Returning an open verdict, the jury said there had been "gross lack of communication"

between British Rail and the contractors, and a lack of enforcement of safety measures.

Mr John Cook, a foreman painter, said the gang was not wearing high-visibility orange coats because there were none on the site. Mr Charles Bolton, of British Rail, said the contractors were responsible to see the men wore orange coats.

The train driver's mate, Mr William Dockrell, said he and the driver saw the gang on a previous journey. They were dragging something across the track and failed to acknowledge the train's warning signal.

Southern Region said they had held their own inquiry into the accident and would not disagree with the coroner. The accident had happened largely because existing safety regulations were not carried out, but they had no reason to believe the rules were inadequate.

Culver backed by MPs

By our own Reporter

FOURTEEN Labour MPs have petitioned the commander of the US Third Air Force in Britain, General John Bell, in support of Captain Thomas Culver, who faces a court-martial today for his part in the Whit Monday anti-Vietnam protest by American servicemen at the US Embassy in London.

The MPs, led by Mr Frank Ailman, wrote that they found certain aspects of the case "highly disturbing." They said: "From what we can gather, Captain Culver's actions were dignified and restrained, in exercise of rights guaranteed him, we understand, under the American Constitution, and not in any way calculated to bring the forces under your control into disrepute."

Cure rate for cancer rises

BY OUR CORRESPONDENT

Modern radiation treatment of one form of cancer—Hodgkin's disease—has raised the chances of a cure by 12 times, the Cancer Research Campaign was told yesterday.

Professor J. F. Fowler, director of the campaign's Gray Laboratory at Mount Vernon Hospital, Middlesex, told the campaign's annual meeting in London that in 1940 a sufferer from the disease, which affects the lymph system, would have had only a 6 per cent chance of surviving for five years—the standard of successful treatment.

Last year he had a 73 per cent chance and recent results suggested an even higher figure. New high-power apparatus was partly responsible, but success was due in great part to better knowledge of the way the disease spread.

Some other cancers were yielding to treatment to an even

greater extent. "Patients with skin cancer now have a 98 per cent chance of cure by radiation, and those with early breast cancer, early cancer of the neck of the womb, and early cancer of larynx have a 90 per cent chance of cure," Professor Fowler said.

Late diagnosis reduced the chances of survival, but between 50 per cent and 75 per cent of patients with breast, digestive, and lung diseases now survived five years.

Vaccination against leukaemia might become possible from work going on in research for a human leukaemia virus, Professor William Jarrett, and Dr Oswald Jarrett, of Glasgow University veterinary hospital, said.

Knowledge of animal leukaemia viruses had now reached the stage where it was possible to test the theory that viruses played a part in human leukaemia, they added.

New cars 'full of faults'

By our Motoring Correspondent

This month's issue of "Motoring Which?" today returns to its attack on the condition of new cars. Of 46 cars tested, none was fault-free: they were delivered to their owners with a total of 388 faults.

"Motoring Which?" says most of its subscribers report similar troubles. And as many as one in four found repairs done under guarantee were unsatisfactory. For specific faults, the proportion among cars tested ranged from one in two having faulty trim, to one in nine with wrongly-adjusted wheel bearings—a defect which could be potentially dangerous.

The same issue deals with complaints about dealers' order forms, which deprive motorists of their common law rights (a subject tackled enthusiastically by the late Consumer Council). The Consumers' Association, publishers of "Motoring Which?" is very critical of the order form and recommends buyers to refuse to sign, or to cross out any restrictive clauses in it. Exclusion clauses, it points out, are a serious obstacle to getting faults put right: it gives a list of various manufacturers' forms, none of which is completely free from such clauses, but it shows that British Leyland's is vastly improved.

In its test of five £900 saloons, the magazine criticises all models (Hillman Avenger, Triumph Toledo, Vauxhall Viva, VW1302, and Renault 6) for insufficient attention to safety. They are all criticised for inadequate padding, and potentially dangerous interior projections: some features, says the magazine—which has recently stepped up its campaign to promote safety—should be banned by law, if the manufacturers do not voluntarily eliminate them.

In a separate review, "Motoring Which?" looks at motoring offences and concludes that it is simply not worth pleading "not guilty" to the more common prosecutions. Of those who were charged with speeding in 1969, 99 per cent were found guilty. The table of offences and penalties suggests that the risk of being caught speeding is far greater than that of stealing a vehicle, for which only 80 per cent of those charged were convicted.

The bare facts for children

By our Correspondent

CHILDREN under the age of 10 might worry because Donald Ducks and Rupert Bears did not have genital organs, Dr Josephine Klein, a social psychologist, said at the Oz obscenity trial at the Central Criminal Court yesterday. She said that a Rupert bear drawing in Oz might indicate to them: "Well folks, it has not been removed. He really has got one after all."

Mr Brian Leary, for the prosecution, said: "If you carry your suggestion to its logical conclusion, it would mean Mickey Mouse ought to be fitted up with an organ to show children of a certain age group that they need not worry."

Dr Klein, of Goldsmiths' College, London, said some unhappiness could be saved if animals in children's books were illustrated "with nothing left out."

Dr Klein, who is unmarried, said that if she were a parent, she would try to prevent her children having sexual intercourse before the age of 16. "But you can't lock up your children," she said.

The hearing continues today.

Anaesthetic check after patient dies

BY A CORRESPONDENT

A check is to be made on patients being given halothane anaesthetic at the Radcliffe Infirmary, Oxford, after the disclosure at an inquest yesterday that an elderly woman developed jaundice after successive injections of the drug.

The Oxford coroner, Mr T. E. Gardiner, recorded a verdict of death by misadventure on Mrs Elsie Mary Bingham, aged 56, of Hivings Park, Chesham, who died on May 20 while waiting for a major operation.

Dr Jonathan Jerserlin, a senior anaesthetist, said he gave Mrs Bingham halothane on April 27

and knew that she had been given it at least twice before while under treatment for breast cancer.

He carried out the standard hospital procedure of asking if she had any ill effects from previous injections but was nothing to suggest that a halothane-induced jaundice was present.

Dr R. H. Cowdell, consulting pathologist, said he could not escape the conclusion that Mrs Bingham had died from hepatitis brought on by halothane, though it was one of the safest anaesthetics known.

Education link criticised

By our Churches Correspondent

The Church of England is recommended today to widen its involvement in education, particularly adult, further, and higher education. The report of the Carlisle Commission on the educational role of Anglican dioceses says the Church should also recognise the educational potential of the Open University, radio, and television.

Under the title "Partners in Education," it suggests that the attitudes taken by the Church towards these spheres of education "are of critical significance in gaining and retaining credibility as a serious guardian of educational values."

There are 6,500 Anglican schools in England and Wales, the report says, providing

education for some 96,000 children. About 30 per cent of all primary education in England and Wales still takes place in these Church schools. The commission, which reviews the way the 40 dioceses run their educational affairs, proposes some basic changes in administration. "Putting our educational house in order is as urgent as it is vital," it says. Integrated administration could provide the foundation for new educational work by the Church.

It says ecumenical links in education should be strengthened. Diocesan education committees were not giving church co-operation the attention it deserved. The commission says: "It is not merely a

question of considering the possibility of schools jointly motivated with other Christian bodies. There ought to be with those bodies, and with other engaged in education, an examination of fields of educational development and relevant issues of national concern."

The independent commission was set up by the National Society for Promoting Religious Education, founded in 1811, which built thousands of schools before State education began.

It finds, among other things, that "administrative matters concern with buildings, the curriculum, and the church's educational role. The involvement should now be extended."

A complete motorway system would cost 250,000 acres of our countryside, 16,000 million pounds and could be complete in 43 years.

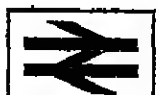
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BOOKS OF THE DAY

Terrible infants

by WILFRID MELLERS

JOHN CAGE, edited by Richard Kostelanetz (Allen Lane, £3.15).

AMERICAN MUSIC SINCE 1910, by Virgil Thomson (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, £3.50).

HERE are the two most celebrated musical enigmas of the States, separated from one another by a brief decade. Virgil Thomson, with his cherub's turn of phrase, turned 70. John Cage, astonishingly, yet given his power to disturb, predictably, 60 next year. They admire (or used to) one another. Cage wrote the excellent musical section of the definitive book on Thomson who, as witfully brilliant critic, supported Cage during the long years when he was a fascinating marginal figure rather than a guru under whose totalitarianism the young would reform the world. Time has dealt with them in inverse ratio. In relative youth Thomson was both famous and powerful, partly because of the notoriety of "Four Saints in Three Acts", mostly because as critic he was king-pin of the New York scene; today he is no longer in day to day (journalistic) contact with musical events, while his own work is infrequently performed. Cage, on the other hand, started as a West-coast drop-out; and with advancing age has become polemicist, prophet, and public figure. Though their careers have been complementary, the reversal of roles hasn't, I suspect, been beneficial to either.

They share in common a child's vision of the shogun American: who may begin to see precisely because he has so little. Thomson's music genuinely and touchingly creates the Alice in Wonderland logic of Gertrude Stein, whom he so deeply revered and to whose art he devotedly dedicated. There are fairly precise (Satiean) affinities between Thomson's music and that of Cage's prepared piano period; and what they achieved creatively in those years remains modestly durable. For the innocence reaffirmed, the music is more significant because they had been forgotten. Events have demonstrated that they were right in thinking—and in proving in their own music—that Satie was a great little composer.

The innocent eye-ear of childhood that we have, the only quality that Cage and Thomson have in common, both have also—in only apparent paradox—sharp wits and verbal agility. Experimentally, their art is as true as truth's simplicity. Intellectually,



John Cage: '(his) aim with music, like Samson's with the temple, has long since been clearly destructive'—Virgil Thomson.

they're almost too canny to be credible. Both have virtually abandoned music. Thomson presumably because he has nothing further to say. Cage because he has come to believe that saying things is irrelevant, even actively evil. Satiean abnegation must be carried to the point at which the ego evaporates and, in listening to silence and looking at emptiness, we make our own music, paintings, and sculptures; or not, as the case may be.

One appreciates the logic of Cage's position, acknowledges the necessity for partial truth of what he has done. Yet as time goes by the partiality becomes more evident than the truth; and in this compilation by Richard Kostelanetz of sayings and essays on Cage the repetition of so many pseudo-truths through so many years becomes dispiritingly invidious. At any rate, I react—and don't believe that the electronic media are totally changing our physiology and psychology since (unlike Cage) I can imagine no reason why (for instance) jazz and the music of Bach—which create tension between metrical time and the human impulse to soar and sing—shouldn't be meaningful as long as men have beating hearts and pulses.

Indeed I doubt whether music, which of its nature exists in time, can be independent of movement from towards; doubt whether Western (or even Eastern?) man can exist without tension, or whether he'd be the better

if he could; doubt whether we could for long exist in the happy hippy's grove paradise of children's joy; doubt in the universe of Rock which Cage interestingly finds more meaningfully meaningless than jazz in that, being so good, it obliterates gradation and distinction. So, much though I've loved Cage's personality and enjoyed his early music, I can't—reading this retrospective survey at second remove—now take it: any more than can Virgil Thomson, who has loved Cage more and longer. His essay on Cage is by far the best chapter in his somewhat casual and ephemeral book—compassionate and sympathetic, yet detached.

His final paragraph, which demonstrates that he still writes like a terrible infant angel, indeed gives us pause: "Cage's aim with music, like Samson's with the temple, has long since been clearly destructive. Can he really do the whole thing down on him? It just could happen. For Cage, like Samson, is a strong man and he has been so far more dangerous, believe what he says. The young seem to be yearning nowadays after messianic figures. Cage's rigid schedule of beliefs and prophecies, his monomaniacal mind and his lurching, engendered, irreversible locomotive of a career—all make it easy for the young to view him as a moribund, an amplified plea for calling out 'Get aboard—a children's choir, there's room for a million more.'"

Yet it won't quite do to transform Cage—now (like McLuhan) materially rich and paradoxically power-conscious—from clown-saint to wicked warlock. If one reads, after the Thomson quotation, Cage's superb and moving letter to Paul Henry Lang, eminent guardian of American musical respectability, one sees again how life-enhancing he was, and may still be. Cage as optimistic prophet of the Electronic Age. Thomson's pessimistic skepticism on the world of his youth, each offers a partial truth which is neatly epitomised in their respective attitudes to a man greater than either. Charles Ives, probably the only major composer America has produced, possessed the innocent eye and ear of a Beethoven. Cage, too, was also motivated by a New England permutation of Beethovenian aspiration and transcendence. Cage hears what he wants to hear—the discontinuous moments, the simultaneous acceptance of contradictory experience. Thomson doesn't exactly ignore it; but it makes him uneasy, so he tries to cut it down to size—hence his slightly smaller than Macdowell. This seems to me either stupid or (literally) fearfully dishonest, and this will old bird has never been so foolish as to come to think of it) in the sense that John Cage believes we should all be.



'THOUGH the State and party bureaucracies can have had nothing to fear in the last three years from these young rebels who hate them so, it can still be said that an anarchist revival has been the most positive result so far of the events of 1968....'

—PETER LASLETT reviews some recent writings on anarchism.

DURING the événements of May and June, 1968, the red flag of communism fluttered side by side on the occupied Theatre de l'Odéon. Inside, of course, the whole intelligentsia of Paris listened in to the discussions by day and night. The followers of Lenin, Marx, and Mao along with the believers in Proudhon, Kropotkin, Bakunin and Sorel, organised and maintained the perpetual interchange, agreeing and co-ordinating, passing resolutions, and from time to time issuing out to join the battle with the Gaullist forces of law and order.

Only when the climax of the would-be revolution came, at the great meeting at the Stede Charley, on May 27, was the historic and profound division between Communist and anarchist paraded in public. As each revolutionary contingent entered the area (this happening was in its way an anticipatory caricature of the Olympic Games) the more raucous cheers. Except for the anarchists, who ran with their black flags swiftly round the sports ground while the Communists growled and the spectators who made up the crowd, sat silent on the dampening terraces.

Though the great Revolution, early and mid-twentieth century model, never actually arrived and though the State and party bureaucracies have had nothing to fear in the last three years from these young rebels who hate them so, it can still be said that an anarchist revival has been the most positive result so far of the events of 1968. Certainly Marxism, both orthodox and heretical, has scarcely been able to take advantage of the current passion of our youth for the destruction of the State and the renovation of society. This is the first victory for one of the oldest and most interesting of all attitudes towards politics since Karl Marx himself saw off Proudhon exactly a century ago. Or, since Piotr Kropotkin, a prince of Imperial Russia, was buried in Moscow in February 1921 amidst the masses of his anarchist following.

Near the surface

The world of the academic and the world of the journalist being these things are, it was to be expected that all this would be the subject of a great deal of academic journalism. Indeed, as for the events of May and June themselves, I find myself surprised at my own record of the events when I consult it again, so deeply has the memory been buried under layer upon layer of analysis by those who have only read all about it. Unless I had actually seen for myself the events, I should have been told that they were a "Toussaint movement" or "anarchist movement". I don't think I would have believed that anarchism was so close to the surface, and I certainly could not have learnt it from such writings as I've read. Nevertheless, it has to be confessed that some of this academic journalism is of excellent quality.

Mr Kedward's shiny covered paperback, with its alluring array of interesting illustrations, nearly all of them relevant to his text, is about as good and cheap a picture book as you could expect to buy on such a subject. His prose is sometimes a little limp, and he deals to those tired would-be apophorisms which afflict historians in a burly, but his short descriptions of the bonhomie of the fanatics of Victorian and Edwardian times are splendidly done.

Marxism had its symbol too, planted on the arms of the University of Paris. A book of the events of the events is the crest of that venerable institution and whenever this carved or printed volume was accessible it was duly redressed and boldly labelled Les Pénalités de Mao.

SELECTED WRITINGS ON ANARCHISM AND REVOLUTION, by P. A. Kropotkin (M.L.T. Press, £2.85; paper, £1.85).

THE POLITICAL THEORY OF ANARCHISM, by April Carter (Routledge, £1.50).

ANARCHISM TODAY, by David E. Apter and James Joll (Macmillan, 75p).

THE ANARCHISTS: The Men Who Shook an Era, by Roderick Kedward (Macdonald, 70p).

You can learn a lot from his little book about anarchists and even about the miscellaneous and rather puzzling theory of the thinkers confessing to this title. There is an attractive miniature study, for example, of the innovative Spanish educator Francisco Ferrer, who was executed by the Spanish Government after the revolt in Barcelona in 1909. This took place while he was away in London and he was massacred on principle, so to speak, just because he was an anarchist and might well have had something to do with the rising, which was certainly led or helped on by the Spanish anarcho-syndicalists.

Men in a panic

This is typical of the treatment of the anarchists, where ability to throw the daily papers, the authorities and the man in the street into a panic has always been their greatest strength. The book is a history of the only two successful Communist, and their own inevitable disorganisation. But in his scholarly epilogue to the series of short sketches which he has edited with David Apter, James Joll cites the record of the devoted educationist, was in fact a conspirator, a conspirator with would-be assassins.

Their paperback is a much less satisfactory affair, some what scrappy miscellany of little pieces on various countries written to order and rather nastily produced. But Michael Lerner contributes a study of "Anarchism and the American Counter Culture", which is of a very high order for this sort of thing, so it seems to me, and it must be said that all these writings, including the somewhat pedestrian edit by Kropotkin and the painstaking study for classroom purposes of the anarchist theory of politics (should such exist), are well worth a read. They depend on political order for their peace of mind, which is almost everybody's.

This is a theme too large for such a review, and the aftermath of 1968 wholly too difficult to comment upon. But one of the questions which it continually challenges us to answer can at least be underlined. What is it in the nature of the State, however corrupt, however bureaucratic, however authoritarian, that makes it the proffering, persecuting bourgeoisie or the party apparatus that so effectively legitimises the use of force? Why ever should it be that we react with such alarm and disquiet when a lone individual, who rejects the State as a moral outrage, performs a violent act and kills a person or two and frightens many others, and yet we can accept with equanimity the mass murder for political purposes of almost any number of persons, abroad or for political ideology—even at home?

It is as well that we are now confronted every day with the dubiousness of the ethics of the State, the nation State, that which can so easily become the absolutely corrupting power of some men over all others.

Technocracy's leap in the dark

by ANTHONY TUCKER

THE SCIENCE OF WAR AND PEACE, by Robin Clarke (Cape, £2.95).

THE decisive measure of technocracy's essential criminality is the extent to which it insists, in the name of progress, in the name of reason, that the unthinkable become thinkable, and the intolerable become tolerable. Contemplate for a moment the two courtiers who have been between biochemist, physiologist, chemist, physicist, and militarised industry to produce napalm of ever better adhesion to human flesh. Mark the cold logic of highly skilled minds to calculate H-bomb effects, to conceal the meaning under a righteous euphemism and to gear the scientific-military industrial complex to the goal of insane overkill. Notice the malignant infiltration of fundamental research by the testicles of monetary support whose body and guiding spirit is military and obscure in intention.

Weigh, by the statistics of death, the massive amplification which science and technology lends to the powers of devastation, and to the blind drive of "advanced" societies toward the depletion and annihilation of resources and natural systems.

Theodor Rostak's words define with mordant precision the criminality and the absolute evil against which the counter-culture makes its stand. Philosophically, Robin Clarke may not be four-square with the counter-culture, yet he is spiritually with it, and perhaps even a product of it. For, having painstakingly unmasked the delusions and horrors of chemical and biological warfare ("We all fall down"), he has turned in *The Science of War and Peace* to face the absolute evil. His purpose is to document, to interpret and to explore the narrowing tunnel of the future for those glimmers of light which indicate some possible route for escape.

They are not obvious. History's insidious spiral of war-induced death has implications for the future that are unthinkable, a disgusting

inevitable exponential which predicts that the first half of the next century will claim 4,000 million victims. Such a figure is unthinkable, larger than the entire world population in 1971, and well beyond the limits of possibility of pre-nuclear technology. Yet the dangers lie in its unthinkability, for it is no more than 40 per cent of the predicted population for 2050 and well within current military capability.

The leap of destructive power is already with us: all that is needed is the pressure on the trigger. Population growth, intolerable demands on space and on resources, the increasingly intolerable inequalities between societies, are already beginning to provide that pressure.

The book documents the nuclear situation, reviews the processes of proliferation, the power of the military industrial complex, the psychological aggression it touches on the investigatory games of peace and conflict, and sees little hope of disarmament or of avoidance of war. Historically, the frequency of war is the same for civilisations whether they heave defensively or aggressively and, as Raulo Naroll pointed out, the inevitable conclusion is that it takes one nation to make a war, not two.

There are, suggests Robin Clarke, some faint glimmers of hope in the attention now being turned toward conflict resolution, but the danger of "peace research" whose logical inconsistencies have been thoroughly exposed but under the banner of research for survival. We can now see the technological society has built into it a structural violence guaranteed to destroy it and us.

Survival, says this book, depends on a total reformation of the purposes of science and technology. In the future there will have to be a valid for all men, for all time. Only then, it argues, will technology cease to be used for the manipulation of men, and for the rape of our planet. Perhaps—and this point is somewhat overdone in the book—the reformation is already under way.

Brought to book

by JOHN CUNNINGHAM

SHALL WE EVER KNOW? The Trial of the Rosen Brothers, by William Cooper (Hutchinson, £1.75).

FROST led the furrows and the February sun glinted through the bare hedgerows as police fanned across acres after Hertfordshire are looking for the body. We reporters stood in the lane in front of Rookery Farm, stamping our feet or taking shelter under the thatched eaves of the Cock Inn. And waited.

Mr Cooper waited too, at the other end, in the Old Bailey when Arthur and Nizamodeen Hussein were found guilty of kidnapping and murdering the wife of the despotic ruler of the "New World". The hearing seems a million miles from what happened in the village of Stocking Pelham. A different kind of awfulness; a different claustrophobia.

The differences is partly explained because Mr Cooper has chosen, quite fairly, to write the book of the trial rather than the book of the murder. It would be wrong to criticise him for not attempting the latter, but it might have been more interesting. A novelist has a much wider scope for the verbal recreation of the scene than the book sticks to the text; the drama is refracted through the personalities of the judge and advocates.

Mr Cooper seems to hit in awe of them, and this hedges his account, reducing the value of his own comments to those of her, as it did to other girls of her period, at a stage when she still believed babies came out of nappies. Mannin had a bit of her humbug. She seems to think that the twenties are as unfamiliar to us as the obnoxious and tedious to be. Come to think of it they are not a whit less extraordinary—cocktails, the Charleston, the Charleston ring, the Disraeli ballet, cam-knives. Radcliffe Hall, Michael Arian and Summerhall would make good reading in an anthropological notebook—but I could not stomach the rather lush, know-all way in which they are served up. And what one thinks of a woman who boasts of despising Shaw, Eliot, Virginia Woolf, and Spenser? Lovely pictures, though, especially of Daphne du Maurier looking a frenzied smasher, of her mother, the Countess of Radcliffe Hall and Una Lady What's-it.

PASTS

by Monica Furlong

INSIDE OUT, by Edith Young (Routledge & Kegan Paul, £2).

YOUNG IN THE TWENTIES, by Ethel Mannin (Hutchinson, £2).

EDITH YOUNG's autobiography has a fine photograph on the cover of the author's brother in their Edwardian childhood, and the book itself has the same candidness, the same naturalness and simple humanity of the child in the picture. She knows about being a human being. She has had her fair share of suffering—as an Irish child in an American school, as a lively intelligent girl who found it hard to be content with the conventional woman's lot, as a woman who never found relationships easy—but the love and compassion and honesty with which she writes of her parents, her son, and of the people who were important to her, balances the pain. She is without self-pity, without paranoia.

Equally impressive, since she belonged to a Bohemian society which included famous painters and writers, she never drops names. Perhaps the best thing about the book is the freshness, the total lack of prurience with which she describes her first sexual experience. It came to her, as it did to other girls of her period, at a stage when she still believed babies came out of nappies.

Speaking in tongues

THIS year's Poetry International, which opens at the Queen Elizabeth Hall tomorrow, is something of a return for the recent tour by British poets in Israel. There are three Israeli poets in the programmes—Yehuda Amichai, who has read at the festival before (and is shortly to become a Penguin Modern European Poet), Chaim Be'er and T. Carmi.

The English poets this year are Basil Bunton and D. J. Enright, with Auden and Denise Levertov from America, E. E. Cummings from Austria, the Slovene Edvard Kocbek (a former partisan), and one of the two Polish poets whose work is best known here, Tadeusz Rozewicz. Altogether a very promising programme.

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ADRIAN A. ROSCOE

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EXILES

by Jeremy Seabrook

RAMPAL, AND HIS FAMILY: The Story of An Immigrant, by Ursula Sharma (Collins, £1.50).

MOST people regard immigrants to this country as though they ad no existence prior to their appearance in Bedford or Southill. Most communities are not interested in the kind of life immigrants may have led; they are not inclined to speculate on the humiliation and suffering that may be concealed by the iphenism of economic necessity which drove them here in the first place. Into Ursula Sharma's tape recorder Punjabi family, husband and wife, inside their nostalgia for the home village, as well as their sense of isolation in exile. It is plimative, and, very moving, almost a realm of consciousness a sinister lament. However they may cling to their own culture, living here has unaged and undermined it; adults, a source of all wisdom and experience, suddenly find themselves dependent upon their children for structure in the language and stoms of the community in which they live. The erosion of traditional lives, together with the inability to simulate all those of the host

culture, mean that they will never again be completely at ease anywhere. Like so many people in foreign country, they cherish the dream of going home some day. But in another breath they sadly admit that they probably never will. "Once you are here you are trapped, tied down by the very expense of living here, and it is difficult to escape."

Before he had even considered emigration, Rampal had absorbed many of the values of the colonial Power. "In the barracks we used to see English officers and their families. I would watch their little fair children and wonder at them. They looked so beautiful, it seemed that even the dust was not allowed to settle on their clothes. Sometimes you see a thing so beautiful to look at that more than look you dare not do." What he could not have even expected to anticipate was the shock of total exposure to the culture. And this is a cruel irony, because when he and his wife talk of their thrift, their self-denial, the efforts to save money, the need for discipline in children and respect for the old, they echo the belief-system of the old working-class people in whose streets they have settled, and who are often the fiercest in their denunciation of them.

With so many possible points of contact and shared experience, it is sad that the goodwill of Rampal and Satya has met with only suspicion and misunderstanding. They are industrious and law-abiding; but they still sense the animosity that their very presence creates in many people. It is that they have been the victims of flagrant discrimination. They were simply shocked by the indifference and disregard of a country which had invited them here as a solution to its labour shortage.

Rampal came in advance of his wife by twelve months. He must have been one of those immigrants who could be seen at airports and on railway stations in the early sixties, with all their belongings in a couple of carrier bags and the address of a distant acquaintance on the back of an envelope. He had assumed that since the British Government had issued an employment voucher it had also undertaken to find him accommodation and a job. Of that first year, he says: "I would spend working hard, and when I came back at night I would just lie down and pull the quilt over my head. I would take a sleeping pill and somehow struggle through the night, hoping to feel some sense of unconsciousness till it was morning and time to go to work again."

nowing in the living room

NEW NOVELS reviewed by ROBERT NYE

NIQUE WITTIG made a brilliant if rather chilling

with her novel "The...". Her second book, *Gnerrillers*, is equally ant in conception and vision—Miss Wittig being this time the child who opens into something amonely like an iceberg, is not altogether because is theme, though undoubtedly helps. If I that Miss Wittig writes a glacier chewing and its way across treads open country not notably in the first place, is only a bit of an overment. I read this book

in the jungle or the imagination but slap-bang in the middle of the modern world, looking at the naked (female) spe at work, watching the possible development of the Women's Liberation movement.

As you can guess, there is more slapping than hanging. There are also no pictures and very few conversations. Some of the pages are like tombstones, with just girls' names on them. These, I think, are not put there to honour the sexual discrimination of death, but to remind us of the warrior heroine in the feminaries.

The last of these pages breaks down into pseudo-poetry, however, suggesting among other things that "arise oo/symbols massed/ (by myriad constellations)/ fauky/lacuna lacuna/against texts/against meaning/which is to write violence." This sounds good, but unfortunately I can't understand it, except perhaps the last three bits which if they are to be taken literally, seem true to the text in hand. Miss Wittig is indeed written violence against meaning, and against several other little sacraments that make life worth living: love, marriage, children, puns, to name but a few. Of course,

she could shrug off such criticism by claiming a satirical intent, but her own styles belie it. She is a literalist and this novel is sexual political propaganda.

Gillian Tindall's *Flv Away Home* has a less ambitious surface, but once you get beyond the poetically chatty gush of the narrative voice, with its loving litanies of self-doubt, self-consciousness, self-

this end self-everythingelse, there isn't a lot left to think about or speak of. The voice belongs to Antonia, who has married young and gone to live in France. In Paris, with her husband and two daughters, she comes to feel dissatisfied with her existential status as a "foreigner."

The backward-looking notions of the book are the most convincing, rich in the kind of detail about emotional responses that always makes real Tindall readable. Antonia's final winning through to a greater awareness of the world as consisting of other people also struck me as morally irreproachable but somewhat strained in the telling, and not nearly so well documented. This author has a talent for the colloquial and the confidential, for the sort of stream of consciousness which finds no trifle too irrelevant, but she seems worried by her own facility. This may be to her readers' advantage in the long run, but in the short run we have "Flv Away Home," a book which really does anything actively creative about it.

To turn from the worlds of Miss Wittig and Miss Tindall to the worlds of Anthony Bloomfield's *Life for a Life* is a liberating experience—so

much so that I felt grateful to Wittig and Tindall for going on about the prison of feminine existence because it does make me appreciate the free ranging quality of even a rather second-rate novel directed by an exuberant male imagination. This book began life as a television play written by Mr Bloomfield's alter ego John Westgate. He tells us so himself, at the front, and I wish he'd kept the information until the end because I can't be sure now whether the not read television qualities into the text as it stands. Time and again I was reminded of the book's two history as a TV script, with a concomitant feeling that one would isolate the attempts to "write it up" into a novel by their obtrusively literary tone, their half-hearted tinkering with phrase-fragmentation and the like.

Dickensian man

All the same, its not at all a bad book. Laurence Carpenter, caught between hored wife and terribly vital young mistress, rescues a man from the river. The man, Ose, is a real Dickensian creation, soft and shifty, shistler, yellowing at the edges and perhaps half created by Laurence's own mind. He claims to be a professional assayer and offers to tell anyone Laurence wants out of the way just to show his gratitude. At first Laurence rejects the offer as ridiculous. When his life becomes increasingly disordered—his mistress Jackie ditching him for a hirsute actor, after revealing to Laurence the death of his own sadism—he finds he cannot afford to be so successful or so suicidal. The story goes at a cracking pace and the character drawing is just good enough to sustain interest in the whole as a real novel and not just a psychological thriller.

WOMAN'S GUARDIAN

Souvenirs • Training conference • Paddy Rabbit • School holidays

unket or a ocation

Mary Stott

FOUR FRENCHWOMEN, five (4.1, 1m), a Belgian (m), a Swede (f), a Hungarian (f), a Pole (f), a Yugoslav (f)—a bag of economists, academics, servants, trade unionists, and Monde—and the Guardian—them off at rather short notice, give them three and a half to produce a document on "the of girls and women's relation employment opportunities in e" and what do you get? A question, to which I, though f here, don't know the answer. On benefit analysis, could such a be justified?

participants (sorry, but we were e's "delegates" having been ad for our distinctions, onr ise, or our employing organ- is) were pretty sure that we the director, M. Blamant, head International Labour Organ- is Centre for Women's Tech- and Vocational Training at what he wanted—a document would start off a series of onal training and employment men, within the framework of or employment, programme- has been accepted as part of Nations development strategy, ight to be a prod to Governments employers. How much it ed what kind of document, we less sure. But we did our best.

intaneous translation, lessons problems of international com- on but not at all, time Cezom- Pole, smiled her way through- d neither English nor French, ical languages. Mine Paulette the French trade unionist, remembered to switch on her bone: Anthony Flowerdew, School of Economics, made nish jokes which were quite slatable; jovial Janos Timar, ngarian was as verbose as he ent in heavily accented French, paper by Mr Sabolo (ILO) on ility of securing accuracy in al forecasts was totally incom- sible to two thirds of the ants. The spearhead of methods is the analysis of ion simple or multiple, which n calculating the elasticity n the employment coefficient icators, monetary for the most her macroeconomic or... was, too, a touch of the n the surroundings, the cent complex of buildings a for the great exhibition of nationhood (Turin, now Fiat- as the first capital). The Government gave it to the i Turin generously converted e is a vast, dramatic exhibition ed once only. While we were for a knock-about kind of on game), surrounded by oors of offices, stacked with eated training equipment, what did the Document say? y what you would expect.

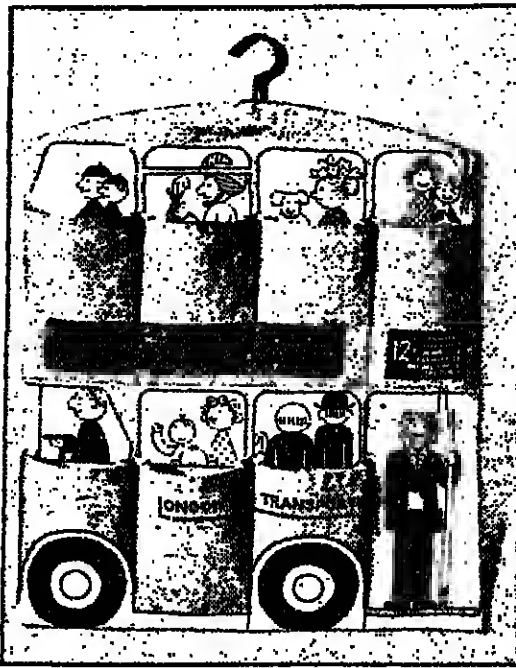
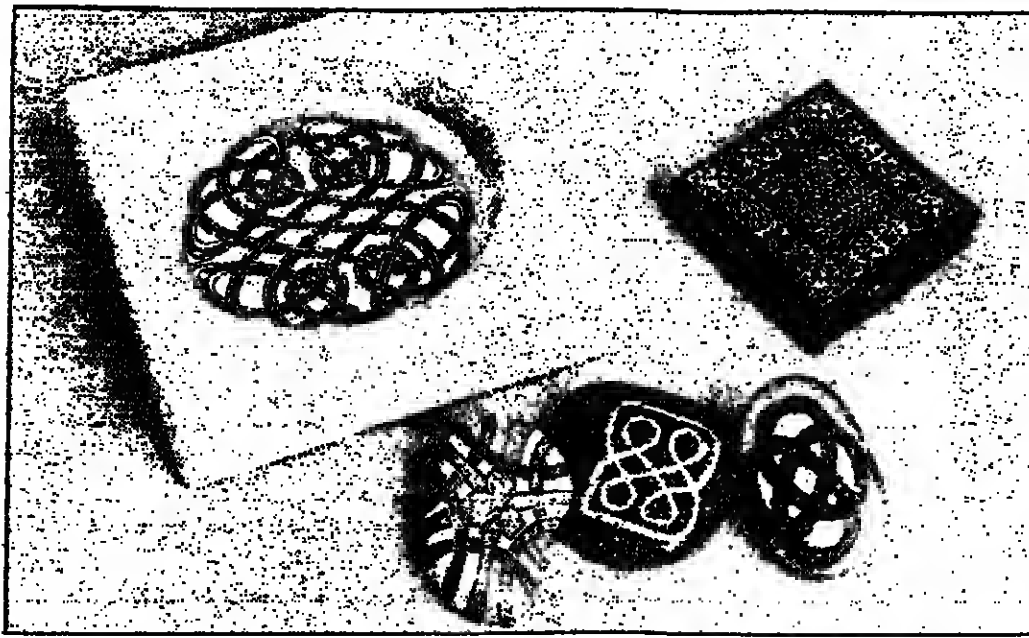
rapid increase in women's nept (especially married in the past 25-30 years is a change which needs study and women are not to be second tizens (Paulette Lavin would sub-proletariat" in the labour

roles are differentiated very school life (if not by parents, arlier) and that therefore a and textbooks need revision shoving, of course, from Mrs the Swede); onal guidance and training thinking especially of the that training opportunities be life-long, in view of rapid ical change, and the need of to refrain (on a sound pre- hasis) in their 30s; training (especially audio- techniques should be used to the time needed for and the retraining at all levels; n have a basic right to n training, and work at levels ch they are fitted, and the ify needs their work in many Therefore more study of child care services; of planning, so that jobs and e not too far apart; of wage give incentive and a proper hours of work and training mes, to fit in with women's e and home responsibilities; roccational education to bridge p between broad general and employment possibilities. benefit analyses of training quately paying women should oo narrowly assessed nor the r the commonly of mental an and psychosomatic illness frustrated women overlooked. Helene Thalmann-Antenen, a awyer and a specialist in and marital problems was c about this).

ies from Eastern Europe were ve. In Yugoslavia, says Mme Hadji, all secondary level at the end of their penulti- ar, quite apart from their al education, spend three n some industrial or other ment and have to make a report on it which is assessed r other school subject. In said Janos Timar, maternity full pay lasts three months; at the mother can stay at n half pay until the child is ars old, if she wishes.

Document itself contained really new. Mme Nicole ("Le Monde") said to be about the "old-fashioned" of the participants, as when (ertrude) Williams, (Professor s of Economics London Univer- oke of the reluctance of teenage do anything other than mark- jobs until they married, one heard of The Pill? (It er once mentioned). Did no ise that one of the most pres- blems of our time is that of upported mother who has no ang no training for earnings ood?

ver, M. Blamant got his Docu- he participants learned some- about communication across- c and cultural frontiers; and ta Vestin gave an object lesson ing what she preaches about rientated education by taking Stockholm a baby doll, in a or her grandson.



Above and top right: from the "Souvenirs of Scotland" exhibition at the Design Centre. Scatter bowl with Celtic pattern, made by Govancroft Pottery (£1.50); sea-smoothed stones, hand decorated, made by Argus Wall Patterns (from 75p); tumbler mats, made by Kollo Industries (£1.10 a set); and hock goblets "fly and east", made by Harold Gordon (about £6.30).

Left: Shoe tidy, made by Cuckoo Bird Productions (about £1.50).

Right: Tower of London cube-shaped money box, made by Sutherland Pottery (about 75p).

For right: Metal tray and set of six coasters, made by Reginald Cornfield (tray about 32p, coasters 19p a set).

**RICHARD CARR
ON SOUVENIRS**

Keepsakes you will want to keep

SO MANY SOUVENIRS are little better than the cheap and nasty prizes one wins at a fair. Souvenir stalls, even in places patronised by people with plenty of money to spend, are usually stocked with plastic guardsmen, Scotsmen, and Welsh ladies in transparent plastic hoxes, cheap brass ash trays or frying pans emblazoned with some local crest or an "appropriate" motto, not to mention the china dogs, cats, and lions whose connection with the country concerned (let alone the particular locality) is often difficult to see. People must have a special attitude towards souvenirs, accepting standards of quality and finish, and a banality of message, which they would never tolerate for other objects in the home.

Nevertheless, no matter how unimportant souvenirs may appear to be—which is perhaps the classic answer to anyone who criticises them—they have received considerable attention from such august people and other bodies as Lord Snowdon, the Ministry of Public Building and Works. Her

Majesty's Stationery Office, the Royal College of Art, the Council of Industrial Design, and the Welsh and Scottish tourist boards, all of whom believe that souvenirs are more than just objects which are soon put into a cupboard and forgotten. They are, after all, a kind of ambassador from the place they represent and hence shoddy souvenirs might be thought to reflect the standards of local industry (even if they are made in Hongkong) or, alternatively, the philistine attitudes of the people who sell them. And although this may not matter when shoddy Welsh dolls, for example, are sold in Piccadilly Circus, it could do harm when the same dolls are sold in Wales.

The Scottish Tourist Board, in conjunction with the Scottish Committee of the Council of Industrial Design and The Scotch House, has just announced the results of a souvenirs competition which has led to 40 well designed souvenirs (out of more than 700 entries) being put on to the market. They include model fishing boats, a nest pot for small birds, bottles of special ale and, of course, tartan dolls, and a clan map. And the

successful treatment of traditional ideas, like the story of Robert the Bruce, can also be seen on the new notes issued by the Clydesdale Bank which, while not exactly souvenirs (though why not keep a Scottish bank note in memory of a Scottish holiday?), nevertheless reflect the country's individual character.

Souvenirs of Scotland also serve another purpose, which is to bring employment to areas where work is not easy to find. Crafts—weaving, leather work, ceramics, and glass, for example—are important occupations in the Highlands and Islands, where even companies like Calthness Glass and Donald Brothers are related to the souvenir market, and some of the new souvenirs have encouraged cottage industries like that which now paints pebbles on the island of Barra. Here, grey pebbles are picked up from the beaches and painted with a heart or a bird on one side and a knot of interlacing lines on the other, using the kind of colours—yellow, ochre, gold, prussian blue, and vermilion—that are found on early illuminated manuscripts, and then wax polished over a clear varnish. Like the stones, no two

sets of designs are quite the same since the islanders are free to improvise from the Celtic and Pictish designs that are provided as a guide, and hence these souvenirs have a spontaneity and individuality which is usually lacking on those that are mass produced.

Stately homes have also been improving their souvenirs. You can now visit castles and houses to collect: stoneware from Burton Constable; pendants from Holkham Hall; storage jars from the Brighton Pavilion, St Michael's Mount, and Walworth Castle; bottles from Croft Castle; tankards from Saltram House; a mug from Chertwell; glass (various) from Chiswick House, Glamis Castle, Raby Castle, Blicke Hall, and Beaulieu; tea towels from Blenheim, Woburn, Ragley Hall, and Windsor; place mats from Blair Atholl; reproductions of manuscripts and other historical material from Hampton Court and the Tower of London (where you can also buy a money box); and a model of the Baron's Hall from Penshurst; not to mention fudge and ale from Traquair House.

Paddy Rabbit—picture by Peter Johns

Scavenging for fashion

**ELISABETH DUNN talks to
PADDY RABBIT, who lives in the
Tower Bridge in London, and has an
exhibition there of Victorian pieces
she rescued from a corporation dump**

AN UNCOMMON NAME can create its own problems which can be either embarrassing or boring; a mildly eccentric address may spark off a few smart-alec remarks, but when you are Paddy Rabbit of Tower Bridge, London, people tend not to take your cheek. One uncertain visitor approached a policeman on the Bridge who said: "Mr Rabbit? Mr Rabbit? I suppose you'll find Mr Lion and Mr Plod when you get there." The tone changed noticeably when Mr Rabbit was identified as Captain Rabbit, Assistant Master of Tower Bridge (known on the Bridge as The Commander) and husband of Paddy.

Last week Mrs Rabbit opened a private exhibition of some 450 pieces of Victoriana rescued from the Portsmouth corporation dump. They trace the lives of three maiden sisters, whose father was chief carpenter in the Royal Dockyards, from their christening through young womanhood to half-finished dresses and small stuffed birds which never reached a hat-trim. The first landmark in their lives is a silk pin-cushion with "Welcome Little Stranger P.E. 1798" worked into it with pins.

Mrs Rabbit herself fits into this elegant and nostalgic backdrop like a cat in an armchair. She presents a faintly theatrical appearance with long dark hair, pale face, and green eyes. She was born in Galway ("Which is why the name doesn't bother me. I mean,"—small smile—"there are literally thousands of Rabbits in Galway") and educated in Belfast. She married Captain Rabbit and travelled with him while he was in the navy, taking with her armfuls of period costumes. She was good-

natured enough to leave some of them to the Australian nation after three years spent in the country. She is now 43.

Her interest in antique clothes was generated by a spell as an extra in films like "The Scarlet Pimpernel". "I found some of the clothes for them. And I was living in Bath where it all really comes home to you. I did my first thing for television there. A cascade of costume called 'Borrowed Plumes' in which we all came down Milsom Street in sedan chairs."

For Mrs Rabbit the costume business has progressed considerably. She organised the clothes for the Bath Festival's fancy dress ball for some years. Then she bought a Victorian dress for 7s 6d in Portsmouth which turned out to be Spitalfields silk, very early, and altogether highly desirable. She sold it for about £100 when Christie's first started selling antique clothes. Today clothes figure regularly in Christie's catalogue, partly through Mrs Rabbit's efforts.

She is very good at finding wedding dresses for prospective brides—notably Lord Esher's daughter—and she has one on exhibition at present. Unhappily, like a lot of Victorian clothes, it will just about fit a 12-year-old child. Middle-class ladies of the nineteenth century, not being given to overwork or violent exercise, had tiny diaphragms which, combined with their intricate corsetry, makes their clothes more or less unwearable today.

Mrs Rabbit's sources seem to turn up almost by accident. Her husband finished his naval days in Portsmouth, where Mrs Rabbit continues to

organise fashion shows. After each show she appeals to her audience never to throw anything away. Just send it along and she'll give it a good home. The current crop emerged through a phone call from a friend who just happened to have heard that the sisters' house was being cleared out and put on the scrap heap, and Mrs Rabbit virtually wrested the trunks from the bands of the refuse department: "There were all these little notes pinned to the clothes which said 'If anybody finds these, please would they not let them be thrown away' and they still ignored them," she said.

So happily they are now on exhibition in the Rabbits' remarkable house. Formerly occupied by a Mr Nelson, the house stands just south of the central span of Tower Bridge and, like the Freedom of the City of London, goes with Captain Rabbit's job. Although they only moved in just over a week ago, Mrs Rabbit felt that since there were so many rooms, they ought to be put to some use so she launched the exhibition immediately.

While she is not trying to make any money from the enterprise, she is keeping handy a box for donations to the St Paul's appeal fund: "We thought we ought to keep it in the City." She is hoping that the exhibition will become a kind of self-perpetuating festival and has already lined up a collection of antique fabrics for the next show. Some of them come from the sisters in Portsmouth, others from Mrs Rabbit's friends who seem to stretch the length and breadth of the fashion industry.

A lot of the clothes from the current exhibition will eventually go to museums though some will be sold. There is one beautiful cream silk dress, embroidered in purple which Mrs Rabbit regards as such a perfect specimen, dating as it does from 1840, that she is saving it for the Victoria and Albert. There are boots that will go to Northampton for exhibition there; lovingly made, tiny brown hoots; price 10s 8d. Some of the clothes Mrs Rabbit keeps for herself.

But life on Tower Bridge is not all the idyll that might be expected. For a start there is a lot of heavy traffic and the upper floors are double-glazed and supplied with filtered air—out of necessity rather than an overdeveloped sense of luxury: "Nobody could say it isn't different, anyway," said Mrs Rabbit. "The characters that the Bridge attracts—you'd hardly believe them. There's one old chap who comes up covered in gold hair every morning and salutes the Bridge. I could stand and watch them all day."

"But there's a real air of strangeness up here. An unreality. There's a real need to get away from it at weekends which is why we've kept on our house in Portsmouth. It's a seventeenth century house by the sea and it really is a relief."

Then, after a long chatty conversation about old clothes, new clothes, films, and Bath Festivals she said: "I do think it's important to be interested in a lot of things. About seven years ago I contracted multiple sclerosis so I like to keep up my interests. Oh, it's not so bad now because the illness is going through a latent stage."



Holiday action

by
Betty Jerman

FOR THE FIRST TIME ever a register of local holiday schemes offering a variety of activities for children will exist when the schools break up this summer. This year the Guardian will not need to print the details on these pages. The register was the fruit of last summer's efforts.

Not that anyone concerned in spreading the gospel that opportunities are needed for children to extend their interests and experience in the holidays can sit back complacently. As the 5,000 questionnaires sent out in May by the National Playing Fields Association slowly return and Guardian readers add their information, Mr Anthony Way, compiler of the Register of Holiday Schemes, can see great gaps in the service, statutory or voluntary. Some areas, like London and Liverpool, are doing good work. Manchester could not report one scheme. At least thirty local councils have answered that no scheme exists in their areas or is planned.

It is still a young movement. The major problems met by voluntary organisers seem to be getting school premises, achieving adequate, reasonably priced, insurance, and finding experienced play leaders. Finance can be a problem in some areas and requests for grants to be made by December and not depended on. Sometimes when organisers ask me for advice on getting funds, to answer "Try jumble sales" sounds facetious.

An example is the Thomas Carlton Secondary School in Adys Road, Peckham, London, SE 15. Forty of the 200 children due to start there in September will go to school on the first Monday after everyone else has broken up. That holiday scheme, organised from the Rachel McMillan Teachers' Centre and run by teachers and student teachers, is destined to give a head start to children with emotional instability, behavioural problems, or poor reading ability. The finance for this valuable project has been achieved. But the deputy head of the English department, Mr Andrew Macabine, and his wife want to take groups of eight of the children at a time, over the first three weeks of August, to their own country cottages. The programme will be positively related towards the subjects they will be facing at school next term. It can only be done if they can raise £150 for the bare necessities like food and transport. I could hardly suggest to people occupied in teaching now organising to work through their holidays and planning next term's curriculum that they might run a few coffee mornings. Any suggestions?

Diary of events

The kind of schemes that exist and their aims are varied. But there are not enough of them. If you write to Mr Way at the NPFA (57th Catherine Place, London SW 1, enclosing a s.a.c) you will be lucky if he can say that one of the two hundred projects already recorded are near enough for your child to enjoy. Maybe you will decide to get one started for next holidays or complain because your district lacks this amenity. The Holiday Action leaflet is still available. (S.a.c. to HA, Woman's Guardian, 192 Gray's Inn Road, London WC 1).

But that is the future. What about this holiday? You will probably plan some outings and "What's On For Young People" is sure to give you new ideas. It covers the whole country with a diary of events, exhibitions, pageants, horse shows, festivals, lists museums, zoos, stately homes, and swimming pools. It costs 15p from newspapers or add postage to obtain from Sutherland House, 5.6 Argyle Street, London W 1.

The GLC's excellent annual "Open Air Entertainment" costs 10p from newspapers. Add 5p extra if you buy by post from the Parks Department, Cavendish House, 2a Charing Cross Road, London WC 2. Guildford, the heart of the Mum-organised Holiday Fun Activities, also has a "Child's Guide to Guildford," 20p from local newspapers, and the Oxford Consumers Group publish "Outings from Oxford" at 25p from O.C.G., 11 Cooper Place, Headington Quarry, Oxford. The South Morningside PTA, is available from three central bookshops. Shire Publications, Tring, Herts., produce some pleasing paperbacks including "London for Children," 50p, and "The latest, 'Discovering Windsor,' 25p. Add 3p if you prefer direct.

Crayon rubbings

But outings are treats and generally expensive. Most of the holiday is home-based. Why not start a chain of group activities within the home? Several flourishing holiday schemes have started this way. A few mothers will find themselves occupying the children of those who cannot be bothered, but this happens anyway.

Cookery is an obvious subject. Sewing even attracts boys, particularly if they work on felt. Crayon rubbings do not have to be of knightly effigies. The interior of the house holds radiators, decorated glass, and embossed or patterned surfaces; the outside, leaves, bark, walls, maybe a coal hole cover, all fun to "rub" whatever the final composite pattern. Any good thick crayons are effective, but for the luxury touch try Finart's metallic gold and silver contained in their Crayon Rubbing Set, eight crayons including black and white and booklets of ideas. By post 50p from John Dobble, 32 High Street, Putney, London SW 15.

Even tie and dye is a group subject particularly if done in the garden with everyone protected against splashes or in costumes if it is hot. Dylon Dyes in 47 colours cost 11p per drum. Apply pegs, string, elastic bands, or just tie knots to prevent the dye permeating the whole garment. Lengths with ideas are obtainable from the Dylon Colour Centre, 2a Crawford Place, London W 1 where you can also see a permanent display and demonstrations. What to dye? Well who wants white pants anyway?

Britain and Europe: the choice that governs our future

Europe, yes. Britain ought to join the European Communities. The terms negotiated by the Government, although not ideal, are adequate. They are, broadly speaking, as good as Labour could have hoped to achieve. They hold out for Britain the expectation of greater prosperity and greater security. But the White Paper, published yesterday, is a disappointing document. It is politically timid, economically complacent, and vague on some vital points. It fails to recognise the need for political union to reinforce and give vigour to the economic union. It turns a blind eye to the real economic difficulties with which Britain will start. It admits only tacitly that a number of key issues remain to be settled only after British entry.

The case for joining nevertheless stands. As a leading member of an expanding and outward-looking Europe, Britain will have better prospects than by staying on her own. As the White Paper argues, the advantages more than outweigh the costs—and they include advantages for Europe and the world, as well as for Britain. The decision, admittedly, is not simple. Ardent pro-marketisers ought not to be scornful of the case on the other side. But the opportunity is one that Britain ought to seize. Even if the Europe presented in the White Paper seems at times conservative and unprogressive, it can still be the basis of a strong and prosperous community.

The political will

Twenty-five years ago Arnold Toynbee said that Western Europe could never unite except under a dictatorship. "In Western Europe, especially, the traditions of national individuality are so strong that the closest practicable European Union would be too loosely knit to be more than a pawn in the power game." It could never, he said, be a match for the Soviet Union or the United States even if it sacrificed cherished liberties, which it ought not to do.

Backing for this thesis, however unwelcome, will be found in the White Paper's concept of Europe. The idea of a dynamic political union does not appear. Instead, the Government paints a cautious picture designed not to frighten wavering Conservative backbenchers. None of Britain's sovereignty is to be given up, none of its veto rights will be relinquished, nothing in our way of life will change. Monarchy, the law, driving on the left of the road—and, one might add, the Football League, the Royal and Ancient Golf Club, and the Orange Order—are all left intact. The only reference to future growth is in the most tentative form. "If," the White Paper says, "the development of European policies in non-economic fields calls for new institutions, then as a member Britain will play a full and equal part in devising whatever additions to the institutional framework are required." If.

Among the giants

Yet there should be no "if" about it. Contrast this timidity even with the Prime Minister's words when he returned from his highly successful meeting with President Pompidou in May. They had reached agreement, he said, about the sort of Europe that both wanted to see. "It is a Europe which, by its unity, will be of a size and nature and in an equal position with the United States, Japan, or the Soviet Union, to enter into trading arrangements and international financial arrangements and to use its influence in the world." But how can it stand equal and use its influence while it is no more than a loose association of sovereign states, led by nothing more effective than a Council of Ministers who are hardly ever able to agree? The European Community's record of decision-taking so far has been disastrously bad. The Governments of the Six know it. They look to British entry and to the enlargement of the Community as one means of giving their political mechanism a new lease of life. Yet Mr Heath, on the evidence of the White Paper, seems intent on proving Professor Toynbee right. A loose-knit Europe will be not more than a pawn in the power game.

Consider too, the decisions which Western Europe faces. Even in terms of the Community's own internal problems—without going onwards to the bigger conflicts of international relations—the next stages of development demand initiative and leadership. The Werner Plan for a monetary union has been deferred, after the disasters of the Deutschmark crisis, but it will have to be revived. It requires within three years the harmonisation of national tax policies and the abolition of tax frontiers. It requires within nine or ten years central decisions that will override national budgets. A common currency, common tax policies, and common economic guidelines call for swift, skilled, and decisive management. In the industrial and agricultural fields, no less, the Community will need central decisions that are

as complex. It cannot be run by a Council of Ministers who perpetually treat each other with suspicion and hostility. Perhaps, in truth, M. Schumann or Herr Scheel are no more difficult inside the Council of Ministers than Mrs Thatcher or Sir Alec inside the British Cabinet. But at least the British Cabinet meets more often and knows how to reconcile its differences without a bloody midnight battle every time.

Nobody should be frightened of the development of European political institutions. Probably Mr Heath, in private, is neither frightened nor Gaullist. He is preoccupied by the reaction of his party, and he wants to win the right decision from Parliament. His statement in May—taking a cue from President Pompidou's in January—acknowledged that progress must come through a gradual harmonisation of policies and that national interests could not be overruled. It is true that we must not be in too much of a hurry. The reality may be that Europe has to learn by the unheroic and hard method of its own frustration and mistakes.

But just as invasion and occupation in two world wars generated the climate among the Six in which they were ready to surrender some of their sovereignty, in the interests of peace and prosperity, so the insular British too must be ready for change. It may be a gradual change, and it need have no adverse effect on national character or national ways of life. The Dutch are no less Dutch and the French no less French because they are in the Common Market, though each has taken on European attributes. The fatal thing will be to refuse Europe its essential political character.

Economic equations

The economic elash is more familiar. The Government's case stands on the straightforward projection of economic opportunity—a bigger tariff-free market for industrial goods, the ability to compete with the American and Japanese giants, the expectation of faster economic growth and higher individual earnings, and the stimulus that will come from entering Europe. Yesterday's White Paper is notably more optimistic than the previous White Paper of February, 1970. Its optimism is at some points carried to complacency, though it admits that British industrialists and businessmen will have to work hard to exploit the opportunity.

The anti-market argument has old and new elements. The old part (the Jay-Shore view) is concerned above all with the effects on the balance of payments—higher food costs and their damage to export prices, the unfair burden of levy payments, the loss of Commonwealth preference and therefore of good Commonwealth markets, and the double disadvantage against new Continental competition in former EFTA countries. The new element (the Wilson-Callaghan line, loosely speaking) is the charge that the Conservatives have so mismanaged the economy that Britain is too weak to stand the shock of going in, together with Mr Callaghan's plea for five years of "flat out" economic growth as an alternative. In addition, at the back of much of the fuss over coal and steel, there is Labour's rather late realisation that the Common Market has been devised as a competitive economy—more capitalist than Socialist, and with restrictions on governmental intervention.

Britain's robustness and ability to profit by entry are crucial. Unless our industry is strong enough to exploit entry from the start, joining Europe could hurt Britain badly. The Callaghan-Wilson thesis would be more convincing, however, if Labour had not so recently been in office. For reasons that seemed good at the time, Mr Callaghan stopped the Maudling boom; Mr Wilson made him apply the brakes even harder in 1968, and devalued in 1967. The upshot was a greatly improved balance of payments, but at the cost of serious inflation and a deplorably low rate of growth—which was the situation inherited a year ago by the Conservatives. Mr Heath's Administration has sharpened the competitive atmosphere, with Rolls-Royce and Upper Clyde Shipbuilders heading a distinguished casualty list, but is moving only gingerly towards growth. Now, in effect, we are promised that the tempo will accelerate before entry in 1973. It will have to, if Mr Heath's Government is not to be discredited.

The hopeful road

Many of the assumptions in the White Paper are unproved and unprovable. If the increase in food costs is no more than 2p in £1 each year, then it will be barely perceptible at the prevailing erosive rate of inflation. If manufacturers are confident of their new home market, five times as large as at present, investment ought soon to pick up. If the experience of the Six is a guide, growth will soon be stimulated and real earnings will rise faster than before. The effective rate of inflation may be brought down and savings will not lose their value so quickly. All this is what one may hope; and it is legitimate to believe that joining is a much better bet than staying out.

The White Paper is too gloomy about the alternative if we say "No," for the Community itself will then lose the stimulus of enlargement. But while there is no secure way to prosperity, the European road looks more hopeful than any other.

That every historic choice implies challenge as well as opportunity is a cliché, but true. To take advantage of the Common Market means accepting risks. To refuse these risks, on the ground that Britain is unfit to face them, is defeatist. British industry can call on skilled manpower, sound management, and technical ingenuity. British agriculture, too, is among the world's best. Given a determined Government policy to promote growth during the approach to Europe and the transitional years, we can profit from entry and enjoy prosperity. Given also a determination by all the ten Governments to provide democratic political union—without which the Community will be a headless monster—Western Europe can begin to stand equal with the United States, the Soviet Union, and China. And that, in the end, must make for a more stable and peaceful world.



Happier days in East Pakistan: Awami League supporters after their election victory

THE Pakistani Government has, since March 25, built up an elaborate scenario justifying military action in East Bengal and presenting this action as comparatively restrained. The scenario was basically intended for home consumption in West Pakistan, where it has been swallowed whole by most people. But it was also intended for the Western public, and it is a cause of great bitterness to West Pakistanis that this "case" has received not even perfunctory examination outside Pakistan, except in other Muslim countries.

The scenario has been adjusted several times, most recently, and significantly, to put a degree of blame for what happened on Mr Bhutto. Options on Sheikh Mujibur Rahman are kept open by a certain wavering between proscribing him as a dead-in-the-wool secessionist from the start, or portraying him as a weak man pushed into secession by Awami League extremists.

Certain parts of the scenario—which has been learned partly by most army officers and civil servants in East Pakistan—are easily rejected. One of these is the claim that the Awami League, besides running a parallel government in East Pakistan from at least the beginning of March, also allowed and encouraged the terrorism of non-Bengalis in the weeks before March 25. All the evidence is against this.

But the scenario does touch reality in its claim that the intransigence and unwillingness to compromise of the League leadership was a basic cause of the civil war. It makes the most of the Sheikh's several refusals to go to West Pakistan and of his complete failure to realise the need for some concessions to the West Pakistan military establishment over the key issues of the financing of the armed forces and confrontation with India.

The truth of this part of the case was summed up by one pro-Bengali Western diplomat who finished a briefing on the situation by saying in anguished tones: "Why the hell couldn't Mujib have taken two bites at the cherry?" It is a valid question whether you consider that the Sheikh's hope was simply for independence or near independence, or whether you believe that he was ready to try to take the whole of Pakistan in a new direction.

Certainly the Awami League has been convicted by events of ineptitude on an almost heroic scale. In the euphoria of their smashing election victory they seem to have quite simply for-

Taking the heat off in Pakistan

MARTIN WOOLLACOTT, one of the first reporters to move freely around East Pakistan since March's military take-over, moved back to Britain yesterday. Here he puts the civil war in perspective, assessing claim and counter-claim of Bangla Desh nationalists and the Pakistan Army.

gotten the realities of power in Pakistan. Either they should have trimmed their demands to make them acceptable to the army, to Bhutto and to the Pakistani upper class, or they should have made serious preparations to fight. They did neither, and on the night of the 25th, League aides were happily distributing an idealistic and complicated document on future economic arrangements.

Turning to the military action itself, the Pakistani claim that the troops throughout behaved with exemplary restraint is clearly nonsense. However, although no final arithmetic on the killing in East Bengal is, of course, possible, it can be taken as obvious that in every category there has been great exaggeration.

Take the tales on both sides about military units killing their officers. It now emerges that at least some battalions of the East Bengal regiments did not do so, instead carrying off their West Pakistani officers to India when they retreated. As to Bengali officers with West Pakistani units, they seem to have been largely unharmed. One colonel I met trotted out all three of his battalion's Bengali officers to prove his point. They didn't look very happy, but on the other hand they weren't dead.

As to combat losses proper, one reasonably good source gives West Pakistani dead as about 800, including about 40 officers. Because of their poorer firepower and organisation, Bengali units presumably suffered worse than this. But, for combat casualties, a figure in the low thousands is probably right.

The killing of Biharis by Bengalis seem to have taken place mainly in four towns—Chittagong, Barisal, Khulna and Mymensingh. From other areas there are eye-witness accounts of the killing of Biharis in ones and twos, but it is only from those four towns that one gets accounts claiming deaths in the thousands. The Biharis themselves have made claims up to

half a million and a million. Those without an axe to grind settle on a figure well below 20,000.

As regards army killing of unarmed Bengalis, here a distinction has to be made between those killed by indiscriminate firepower in conventional army descents on villages and towns, whether Hindu or Moslem, those arrested and executed, and those who died as a result of deliberate atrocities.

In the first stages of the war, the army would visit any village or section of a town from which it received even light fire, or which was situated near a damaged installation. From the start, it is obvious they had a preference for Hindu targets. Once the situation in any area was under control, units would continue to make descents on any community which, from their ludicrously inadequate "intelligence," they believed was harbouring "miscreants." Again, the mentality of most army officers is such that Hindu communities were automatically suspect.

It is probable that most Bengalis who died were killed in these viciously heavy-handed responses to real or imagined opposition. The point here, in explanation, not in defence, is that unlike some Western armies, the Pakistani Army cannot be "pre-set" to use only limited force. Further, the line between individual and communal guilt is one they find difficult to perceive in practice.

Both atrocities and executions undoubtedly took place, particularly in the early stages of the war in areas where the army was in control from the start, and then later in those border regions which were the last to be taken by the army. In intermediate areas units were moving too fast to have the time for such activities.

Putting a figure on these kinds of killings is extraordinarily difficult. But it is some kind of guide that in one large town which I visited, the verified deaths, presumed dead,

tallied about 20, and killings which could best be described as atrocities—rape, then murder, shootings in the street and the like—were fewer than ten.

The most conservative estimates of Bengali dead are around the 50,000 mark. This would require virtually every soldier in the Pakistani Army in East Bengal to have killed at least one Bengali during the war, either in combat or in "pacification." This is inherently improbable, partly because the army used only infantry weapons throughout, and partly because in most situations there were escape routes for the population coming under fire.

The typical eye-witness story is of an army attack which ended with five, six, or seven dead in a village, or somewhat larger numbers in urban areas. The largest death toll in one attack that I heard from a reliable source was 50, and this in a town. On this sort of evidence, the figure for Bengali civilian dead should probably be adjusted down to around 30,000.

The Pakistan Army High Command has made a number of attempts to curb the ferocity of units. According to some good sources, General Abdul Hamid, the Chief of Staff, made a point of asking units to lay off on both his recent visits to the province. This has had some results. It has got to be understood, too, that the standard by which West Pakistani officers measure "pacification" is not that of some terribly disciplined British internal security operation. The standard is that of Vietnam and American journalists, in particular, have found themselves in tight moral corners when arguing with Pakistani officers.

This much has got to be conceded to the Pakistanis: that the Sheikh and the League bear considerable responsibility for the war, and that the military action itself, while horrible and bloody, no doubt killed far fewer than the propagandists of the other side claimed.

But what those who urge this case on the West fail to understand is that it has become largely irrelevant to the situation in East Pakistan now. Comparatively cool Western observers may be ready to do some fresh arithmetic on the number of dead, and to blame the Awami League for its shortsightedness and its naïveté. Bengalis are not.

They know only that the Bengali people seemed about to begin a new and hopeful life when the army of West Pakistan moved in to kill, burn, and repress.

Matter of conscience

TO THE EDITOR

Sir,—As a member of the Union of Women Teachers who did not support recent teacher strike action, I deplore the use of the term "funker" reported in the Guardian as being used by Terence Casey, N.A.S. general secretary, with reference to members who did not support the strike. While having participated in strike action on previous occasions and while sympathising with union dissatisfaction which produced the recent strike action, I feel that the strike weapon is devalued unless it is reserved as a last resort.

In refusing to strike I followed in all sincerity the dictates of my conscience. I respect the differing opinions of my colleagues, and would like to pay a brief tribute to N.A.S. colleagues with whom I work who in their turn respected my decision in a professional fashion.

I wouldn't submit my dictates of conscience as a "good excuse" for Mr Casey or his union's consideration. I rather regard dictates of conscience as a sound reason to be automatically accepted by a professional body in a democratic country historically and traditionally dedicated to safeguarding the rights and freedoms of the minority.

This tax on credibility

Sir,—The controversy over Selective Employment Tax has perhaps now reached the sublime. When first imposed by the Labour Government, SET produced a loud chorus of shopkeepers' groans, and apologies for the price-rises which they would very reluctantly be forced to institute. Now that the Tories have done their allies a good turn by cutting SET by half, the same shopkeepers—or their representatives—claim that the reduction will work out at a mere few pounds per shop of a chain of grocers, and consequently, they will now be

reluctantly forced to keep prices as they are.

The most they hope they can give us is that prices might be pegged for a few weeks.

If the poor shopkeepers find such little benefit in the reduction of SET—though many of them no doubt brought the Tories back to effect just such a measure—then why on earth take some £300 millions out of the Government's pocket, to be partly replaced by charging children for their school milk and the sick for the social services? Yours sincerely,

M. J. Cohen.

Wemhily.

GARDEN FARM

One alternative to crowded cities and wide open spaces in the country, is lower density urban development. Bigger gardens for everybody—and the chance to grow your own food or own your own park. Today's New Society suggests some radical ideas for spreading ourselves out and making better use of the countryside.

Also this week: cholera, the social disease; why have a steel industry?; how GPs' group practices work out; David Marquand on the Common Market; Paul Overy on art schools; Jone Alexander on transvestites.

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White Paper

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**The decision now
before us**

he European Communities have their origin in the fundamental principles which have taken place in the evolution of the countries of Western Europe in little more than a generation.

In 1945 the main continental economies of Europe emerged from the nadir of two world wars, in which millions of lives had been lost and enormous material damage done, with economies strained and distorted to a breaking point. It was not just that they had been weakened by war. They were in process of shedding

5. The communiqué issued after The Hague Conference of the Six in 1968 called for the completion of the deepening of the enlargement of the communities. This would help them to grow to dimensions more in conformity with the present state of world economy and technology." In the communiqué the members expressed their common conviction that a Europe composed of states, whose role, in collaboration with the United Nations, is directed in their essential interests, assured of internal cohesion, true to its friendly relations with outside countries, conscious of the rôle it has to play in promoting the relaxation of international tension and the rapprochement among all peoples, and first and foremost among the peoples of the European continent, is indispensable if the mainspring of development, progress and culture, world equilibrium and peace is to be preserved."

9. In 1961 the Conservative Government decided to apply for negotiations to determine whether satisfactory arrangements could be made to meet the needs of the United Kingdom, of the Commonwealth and of EFTA. The statement to the Six introducing this application said that this decision was

3. As on the previous occasions, two fellow members of EFTA, Norway and Denmark, and the Irish Republic, applied to join the Communities at the same time as we did. Negotiations for their entry are also well advanced. Discussions have also been started

wards economic and monetary union. No firm timetable has yet been agreed for this in the longer term; the immediate steps agreed so far will not involve practical difficulties for us. If we were not to join, this would not stop the Community of Six moving forward in both the economic and political fields. Thus the options open to future British Governments would be limited without their having any say in the matter.

35. Because of the weakness of Europe after two World Wars the defence of Europe, including the United Kingdom, has greatly depended since 1945, as it did not before, upon the strongest member of the North Atlantic Alliance. The United States of America have played and are playing a great and generous rôle: but it is a burdensome one, and they feel it is now time for Europe to play a larger part in maintaining her own security. It is for that

Continued overleaf

vital reason—the strengthening of the Western Alliance—that successive Administrations in the United States have consistently supported the development of unity among the Western European democracies, including the United Kingdom, in a more self-reliant community of nations, even though they have recognised that such a development will from time to time give rise to differences of view and interest in particular fields of policy.

36. There is no alternative grouping of countries with similar circumstances and interests which could offer us the same opportunities to safeguard our national security and prosperity. A North Atlantic Free Trade Area has been suggested from time to time: but the United States with its great business corporations would be so dominated by a partner in any such area that we as members would find our economy increasingly tied to theirs and our political choices therefore increasingly determined by theirs as well. Nor has such a grouping interested successive United States Administrations. And we have made it clear that they would prefer to see us as members of a stronger and more united Europe than as a satellite of the United States. Similarly, the Six have firmly and repeatedly made clear that they reject the concept that European unity should be limited to the formation of a free trade area.

37. Nor does the Commonwealth by itself offer us, or indeed wish to offer us, alternative and comparable opportunities to membership of the European Community. The member countries of the Commonwealth are widely scattered in different regions of the world and differ widely in their political ideas and economic development. With the attainment of independence, their political and economic relations with the United Kingdom in particular have greatly changed and are still changing. They have developed and are still developing with other countries trade and investment arrangements which accord with the requirements of their basic geographical and economic circumstances. The United Kingdom's share of the trade of the Commonwealth has declined sharply since the 1950s. In absolute terms United Kingdom exports to the Commonwealth have grown only slowly, whilst our exports to the EEC have expanded much more rapidly, and in 1970 exceeded our exports to the whole of the Commonwealth. For many Commonwealth countries, therefore, the European Communities increasingly appear as a more attractive trading partner than the United Kingdom. It is significant that the East African Commonwealth countries have now given the Community trade preferences over us.

38. But this in no way implies that in joining the Communities we should become increasingly inward-looking and trade only with the member countries. It is the declared objective of the Six that the formation and enlargement of the Community should lead to increasing overseas trade and investment, and their experience bears this out. When the changes agreed in the Kennedy Round of international trade negotiations are fully implemented the average level of the external tariff of the EEC on industrial goods will be about 51 per cent, and that of the United Kingdom about 10 per cent. The Community already accounts for 50 per cent of world trade, and its members' trade with the outside world has increased more than 25 times in the twelve years since its formation—so fast as the increase in world trade as a whole. In agricultural trade the Community remains a very large market for third countries' foodstuffs: they import three times as much as we do. The Six are large investors in other countries, both developed and developing, and the enlargement of the Community should enable all their members to achieve a rapid increase in trade and investment overseas as well as in Europe.

39. Similarly the aid given to the poorer nations by our European neighbours is proportionately greater than ours, and the Community has been the first of the major aid donors to introduce a generalised preference scheme which will provide for duty-free access for a wide range of goods from the developing countries. To provide new markets and aid for the less prosperous countries on a scale anything like adequate to their needs, Europe must be united, strong and wealthy. In the United Kingdom think particularly of the countries of the Commonwealth, who have much to gain from close association with a wider European Community of nations, just as other European countries think of the lands with which they have a particular history and of culture and which are already associated with the Community. The Divisions of Europe in the present and past centuries played an undoubted part in building up the tensions and troubles of the developing world. Europe united in a stronger Community can play a constructive and sympathetic part in relieving them.

The economic case

40. The central question here is how membership of the Community would affect the standard of our economy and so the prosperity of our people. For many years we have faced familiar problems: difficulties with the balance of payments, a disappointing record in industrial investment, and an inadequate rate of economic growth. The result is that we have begun to drop seriously behind other countries, and particularly the members of the Community, in attaining a higher standard of living.

41. The Government believe that membership would provide the means to a common budget for certain specific purposes, such as agricultural support, the European Social Fund, and administrative costs (see Annex A). We shall be required to pay a contribution to the Community budget which—after allowing for our estimated receipts from the budget—will involve a net cost of about £100 million in the first year. The cost in later years will depend primarily on whether it becomes possible gradually to reduce the predominant share of the budget which agricultural expenditure at present takes up. If the structure of the budget were to remain unchanged the net balance of payments would

rise to some £200 millions in the fifth year. Thereafter our contribution would be limited for two further years (see paragraph 95 below).

42. Gradual adoption of the common agricultural policy will stimulate British farm output and open Community markets to our food exports, but at the same time will raise food prices in the United Kingdom and the cost of our food imports. The extent of this increase in food prices and import costs will naturally depend on the difference between Community and world food prices. This difference has narrowed significantly in the last two or three years. But assuming a continuation of the present price gap and allowing for likely changes in patterns of United Kingdom production and consumption, the additional cost to our balance of payments on account of food imports seems unlikely to amount to more than about £5 million in the first year, and £50 million a year by the end of the transitional period. On the same assumption about world and Community prices it is estimated that the rise in average retail food prices during the transitional period resulting from our adoption of the common agricultural policy will amount to about 2½ pence in the £ each year. As a result, the cost of living will increase by about half a new penny in the £ each year, but at the same time tariff reductions will lead to lower prices for manufacturers which will go some way to offset this increase. The influence on wage movements of the increase in the cost of living is not expected to have any significant effect on the costs of industry nor, therefore, on our balance of trade. In addition, we should be asked to subscribe £37.5 million in sterling to the paid-up capital of the European Investment Bank: it is expected that the greater part of this sum will remain in the United Kingdom (see paragraph 136). We should also subscribe £24 million to the reserve fund of the ECSC: this would be primarily if not wholly spent in this country (see paragraph 160).

43. The effects of membership on British industry will stem principally from the creation of an enlarged European market by the removal of tariffs between the United Kingdom and the Community countries, and, less importantly, from other tariff changes. The response of British industry will broadly be of two different kinds. First, there will be the immediate reaction of a British exporter to each annual reduction in the tariff on his exports to the Community. This response will involve a decision whether, for example, to maintain his prices and so increase his profit margins, or reduce his prices and expand his sales. But secondly, and in the long run far more significant than this response to relatively small annual changes in tariffs, will be industry's decisions on how to take advantage by structural changes of the opportunities opened up by the creation at the end of the transitional period of a permanent, assured, and greatly enlarged market. Manufacturers will be operating in a "domestic market" perhaps five times as large as at present, in which tariff barriers cannot be put up against them however well they do. There will in consequence be a radical change in planning, investment, production and sales effort.

British exporters will benefit from preferential access to those markets associated, or having special trade arrangements, with the Community. On the other hand they will share with Community exporters their present preferential position in other EFTA countries and in the Irish Republic; and must expect a faster erosion of existing Commonwealth preferences, which have, however, been steadily eroded over recent years and which would probably continue to diminish in future even if we remained outside the Community.

45. Any calculation of the effects on the balance of trade of these tariff changes will only produce a valid estimate if it takes account of the parallel existence of both these influences operating on industry. And a simple summation of estimates of industry's immediate responses to the small annual tariff changes involved would reflect only the false assumption that no other changes were taking place. The Government do not believe that the overall response of British industry to membership can be quantified in terms of its effect on the balance of trade: they are confident that this effect will be positive and substantial, as it has been for the Community.

46. Growth and prosperity in any country, including of course each of the six Community countries, depend first and foremost upon the size and effective use of its resources of manpower, plant, equipment and managerial skill. It is essential to deploy these resources to the maximum benefit, and this requires the pursuit of appropriate economic policies. This requirement would be mandatory upon the United Kingdom in any event. However, the general economic and commercial environment within which a country operates is also a vital element in its success in creating wealth and promoting welfare. The environment can be conducive to growth, or it can be unfavourable to growth. It is generally agreed that for advanced industrial countries the most favourable environment is one where markets are large, and are free from barriers to trade. These conditions favour specialisation, the exploitation of economies of scale, the developing and marketing of new products, and a high level of investment in the most modern and up-to-date equipment. Though increased competition then fosters the more efficient use of resources over a wide area of industry and help to check the trend to monopoly positions on the part of large-scale organisations.

47. In particular, the development and exploitation of modern industrial technology, upon which so much of our employment and income increasingly depends, require greater resources for research and development and wider markets than any one Western European nation can provide. The different national systems of corporate law and taxation in Western Europe make it difficult for European firms to combine and co-operate effectively to meet competition from the great firms whose resources are based on the much larger home markets of the United States and more recently, of Japan. In recent years Western European markets for jet aircraft and aero engines, for computers and advanced electronic equipment, for nuclear fuel and cover, for motor vehicles and for many other products have been increasingly dominated or penetrated

by the much larger international corporations based outside Europe. Together, the Western European nations can organise themselves to compete with these giants, but only if they are to go to increasing their share of European industrial markets.

48. If we enter the Communities we shall be able to profit from the general advantages of a larger market and, in particular, to play a full part in the development of industries based on advanced technology. If we do not join, we shall forgo these opportunities which the members of the Communities will increasingly enjoy. Their industries will have a home market of some 190 million people, with preferential markets in other European and overseas countries. Our industries would have a home market of some 55 million people, with perhaps another 45 million in EFTA, as against the home market of some 290 million people we should have if we joined the Communities.

Experience of the Six

49. The economic growth of the Six countries had already been considerable in the 1950s, as they recovered from the disruptions of war and occupation. The formation of the European Economic Community created an environment within which they have made further and striking progress over the past decade. In considering the likely effect upon our economy of membership of an enlarged Community we must first examine the evidence of that decade.

50. The members of the Community created a common market in industrial goods by steadily eliminating the tariffs on imports from one another over the years 1959-68. The abolition of tariffs provided a strong and growing stimulus to the mutual trade of Community countries. It is estimated that by 1969 the value of this "intra-trade" in manufactured products was about 50 per cent higher than it would have been had the Community not been formed; moreover it appears that the stimulus to intra-trade is continuing. The abolition of tariffs and this consequent increase in intra-trade were accompanied by important changes in the performance of manufacturing industries in the Six countries. Those industries which had previously faced an intensification of competitive pressure as tariffs fell, obliging them to seek ways of raising efficiency and reducing costs. By the same token, prospects for exporting dramatically improved. Import competition and export expansion were closely associated with and reinforced by each other. The outcome of these processes was a significant improvement in the rate of growth of manufacturing productivity, and, therefore, higher national incomes in the Community than the member countries believe they would have enjoyed otherwise. Moreover, the increase in productivity was accompanied by a low level of unemployment, even though large numbers of farm workers left the land for industry.

51. The rate of growth of manufacturing output per head in the five major Community countries had already been at a generally high level over the 1950s and early 1960s, faster than in nearly all other comparable industrial economies. In the latter half of the 1960s, however, this growth rate showed a further marked increase (with the one exception of Italy, where the very high rate achieved in the earlier period was not quite maintained).

52. The rapid growth in manufacturing productivity in the Six was a key factor in their impressive economic record in the past decade. But other indicators also show clearly the extent of the advances made by comparison with the United Kingdom. For example, in 1968 average earnings in Britain were similar to those in France, Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands and well over half as high again as those in Italy. By 1969 average earnings in Italy had caught up with British earnings, and in the other Community countries, earnings were now between a quarter and a half higher on average than those in Britain. In real terms (i.e., after allowing for price inflation), average British earnings had increased by less than 40 per cent between 1958 and 1969, while the Community countries average real earnings had gone up over 75 per cent. Similarly, all the Community countries enjoyed rates of growth of gross national product (GNP) per head of population, or of private consumption per head, roughly twice as great as Britain's.

53. Moreover, at the same time a high proportion of the Community's output continued to be channelled into investment, so providing the basis for further rapid growth. In the period 1958-69 the Six devoted 24 per cent of their GNP to investment, whereas the figure for Britain was 17 per cent.

54. Finally, the Community as a whole have maintained a strong balance of payments position, earning a surplus on account of more than \$25,000 million over the period 1958 to 1969: by comparison the United Kingdom had a small cumulative deficit on current account over these years.

Prospects for our economy

55. This, then, has been the experience of the Community. It is the conviction of the Governments of the industries, and of the trade unions in the Six countries that their economic progress has been promoted in large measure by the changes brought about by the creation of the Community. The economic structure of the United Kingdom is in many respects similar to that of the member countries of the Community. We, like them, are a highly industrialised society, without large indigenous resources of raw materials, and this heavily dependent upon foreign trade. Like the three larger members of the Community—which in size of population are closely comparable to ourselves—we have a widely diversified industrial structure, which has great potential for development in a larger market.

56. In the light of the experience of the Six themselves, and their conviction that the creation of the Community materially contributed to their growth, and of the essential similarity of our economies, the Government are confident that membership of the enlarged Community will lead to much improved efficiency and productivity in British industry, and that this will be reflected in a faster growth of real wages. The studies, mentioned earlier, made by the Confederation of British Industry shows that this belief is shared by a substantial majority of

British industry, whose own interests are at stake, and who are in the best position to judge. A more efficient United Kingdom industry will be more competitive not only within the enlarged Community but also in world markets generally.

57. These improvements in efficiency and competitive power should enable the United Kingdom to meet the balance of payments costs of entry over the next decade as they gradually build up. The improvement in efficiency will also result in a higher rate of growth of the economy. This will make it possible to provide for a more rapid improvement in our national standard of living as well as to pay for the costs of entry. For example, if a rate of growth of national income of 1 per cent higher were to be achieved as a result of membership, by the end of a period of five years our national income would be some £1,100 million higher in the fifth year.

Conclusion

58. Her Majesty's Government have now carefully considered the outcome of the negotiations and the arrangements which have been agreed to resolve the problems identified both by the present Government and their predecessors. Like their predecessors, the present Government have also sought to ensure that changes in trading patterns, especially those concerning the Commonwealth, will be gradual, and will give time and opportunity for those concerned to make any adjustments which might prove necessary. They believe these aims have been achieved.

59. The costs of joining the Community—set out in this White Paper—are the price we should have to pay for the economic and political advantages. These advantages will more than outweigh the costs, provided we seize the opportunities of the far wider home market now open to us. If we do, we shall obtain, as the Six have done since the Communities were founded, a substantial increase in our trade, a stimulus to growth and investment, and a greater rise in real wages and standards of living than we have known in recent years or could be possible if we remained outside the Communities.

60. Beyond these economic considerations are the broad political perspectives. In an enlarged Community we could better serve our own interests and those of our traditional friends and allies. Together with the other members of the enlarged community we could more and better than any of us could do alone, together we could tackle problems of technological innovation and development which would be too big for any one of us. Together we could create a more civilised environment. Together we could compete more effectively overseas. Together we could help the poorer countries of the world more generously than if we were working on our own. And together the members of the enlarged Community would be able to help each other.

61. The enlargement of the Community would create a framework for more harmonious relationships in Western Europe. The relationships between Europe and the other countries of the world, particularly the United States, the Soviet Union and, on day, China, would become more even and balanced. A Europe united would have the means of recovering the position in the world which Europe divided has lost.

62. The choice for Britain is clear. Either we choose to enter the Community and join in building a strong Europe on the foundations which the Six have laid; or we choose to stand aside from this great enterprise and seek to maintain our interests from the narrow and narrowing base we have known in recent years. As a full member of the Community we would have more opportunity and strength to influence events than we could possibly have on our own; Europe with the United Kingdom in her councils would be stronger and more influential than Europe without us.

63. A decision not to join, when at last we have the power to do so, would be a rejection of an historic opportunity and a reversal of the whole direction of British policy under successive Governments during the last decade. No one can predict the consequences of such a reversal. They would touch all aspects of our national life, and affect our future as much as, if not more than, acceptance of the opportunities now offered to us.

64. In a single generation we should have renounced an imperial past and rejected a European future. Our friends everywhere would be dismayed. They would rightly be as uncertain as ourselves about our future rôle and place in the world. Meanwhile the present Communities would continue to grow in strength and unity without our help, and to influence the Communities' power to affect our future would be steadily increased.

65. Her Majesty's Government believe that the terms which have been negotiated are fair and reasonable, and provide this country with an opportunity which may never be offered again. They will accordingly urge Parliament to approve a decision in principle that the United Kingdom should take up full membership of the Communities on this basis. They believe that such a decision would be in the best interests of the peace, security and prosperity, not only of the British people, but of the peoples of Western Europe and of the world as a whole.

66. Every historic choice involves balance as well as opportunity. Her Majesty's Government are convinced that the right choice for us is to accept the challenge, seize the opportunity and join the European Communities.

PART TWO

The outcome of the negotiations

67. Negotiations with the Communities opened on 30 June, 1970. Twelve months of intensive discussions have taken place since then and apart from fisheries, all the crucial issues have now been dealt with. The following paragraphs set out the agreements arrived at and also the stage reached on the small number of matters which remain to be settled.

68. More work remains to be done, however, including detailed elaboration of some agreements already reached in

principle and the drafting of the Treaty of Accession. In addition, we shall be continuing to examine closely with the Community their detailed rules and provisions in order to determine what adaptations may be necessary to meet the circumstances of this country and of the enlarged Community. A number of adaptations have been agreed to suit our needs and in certain cases appropriate transitional provisions or delays to the entry into force of Community rules have been decided upon. It now seems most improbable that any significant problems remain to be identified. English texts of all the instruments by which we should be affected, including the agreed adaptations, would be made available to Parliament when any legislation was introduced to give effect to the obligations that we should be assuming on accession to the Com-

Participation and voting in the Communities' institutions

69. No problems arose over Britain's participation in the institutions of the Communities. It has been agreed that from the start the United Kingdom should have a position in the institutions equal to that enjoyed by France, Germany and Italy.

70. The Council of Ministers is the body which takes all the major decisions about Community policy. In the Council the appropriate British Minister will be present together with representatives of the nine other member states. As has been made clear in paragraph 30 above, where member states' vital interests are at stake, it is Community practice to proceed only by unanimity. Most Council decisions are taken on the basis of a proposal by the Commission. It is already provided in the Treaty that certain Council decisions have to be taken by unanimous vote. In those cases where qualified majority with weighting of votes is provided for in the Treaty, the votes of the members of the Council would have the following weighting:

Germany	10
Italy	10
Belgium	5
Luxembourg	5
Ireland	3
France	10
United Kingdom	10
Netherlands	5
Denmark	3
Norway	3
	61

In these cases, where the Council decision follows a proposal by the Commission, the decisions of the Council are to be effective only if at least 43 votes are cast in the Council. In some cases the Treaty provides that voting shall take place by qualified majority without the Commission having made a proposal. In these cases decisions are approved only if 43 votes are cast in favour by at least 6 members. In those cases in which a simple majority is provided for, the majority will, of course, be 10 out of the 10 States.

71. The European Commission is the body responsible for executing the decisions of the Council, for putting forward proposals which take into account the interests of the Community as a whole and for the safeguarding these interests. In an enlarged Community, the European Commission would be composed of 14 members, two members each from Germany, France, Italy and the United Kingdom and one from each of the other states. The members of the Commission are nominated by the member Governments. There would be an appropriate British contribution to the staff of the Commission. This staff is, in effect, the civil service of the Community.

72. The European Parliament's present rôle is largely consultative, though it has certain powers of control over the Commission. In the European Parliament the number of members will be as follows:

Germany	36
Italy	36
Belgium	14
Luxembourg	6
Ireland	10
France	36
United Kingdom	36
Netherlands	14
Denmark	10
Norway	10

Members of the European Parliament which meets at Strasbourg are nominated by the respective national Parliaments.

73. The Economic and Social Committee is also a consultative body, consisting of representatives from employers, trade unions, professions, farmers, etc. Membership of the Economic and Social Committee will be as follows:

Germany	24
Italy	24
Belgium	12
Luxembourg	6
Ireland	9
France	24
United Kingdom	24
Netherlands	12
Denmark	9
Norway	9

74. Provisions have been agreed for equal representation of France, Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom in the organs of the European Investment Bank.

75. On enlargement, English would be an official language, together with the present official languages—French, German, Italian and Dutch.

76. The arrangements outlined above will ensure that the United Kingdom will be able from entry to play a full part in the management and future development of the Community. It has been agreed that in the period before the signature of the Treaty of Accession and its entry into force joint procedures will be established to ensure that decisions taken by the institutions of the Community take due account of the interests of the United Kingdom as a prospective member of the Community, and that to this end consultations will take place before such decisions are taken. This will ensure that the British Government will be able to influence Community decisions during this period. The procedure will also apply to decisions to be taken in this period by the United Kingdom which would affect the obligations we shall have undertaken as a prospective member.

Transitional arrangements for industry and agriculture

77. At the outset we made it clear that we accepted the common external tariff (CET). Subject to special arrangements for the twelve industrial materials dealt with in paragraphs 14 and 141 below. We also accepted that the common agricultural policy would apply throughout the enlarged Community, subject to the arrangements for New Zealand and for sugar, and to clarification on a number of issues. However, we required adequate transitional arrangements. Our objective in seeking these was twofold. On industrial tariffs we wished to secure as quickly as possible the advantage for British industry of integration within a single European market, while providing an adequate period of adjustment for our Commonwealth and other trading partners. For agriculture we needed arrangements which would permit an orderly adjustment by our producers to the Community's system of support and avoid sharp increases in food prices and prevent abrupt dislocation of the exports of our Commonwealth and other third country suppliers.

78. These objectives have been achieved by the arrangement described in paragraphs 79-87 below.

Industrial tariffs

79. There are two main processes involved here. First, all tariffs on goods between the United Kingdom and the Six have to be eliminated. This is to be done in five equal stages, starting three months after accession. Second, subject to the special tariff arrangements referred to in paragraphs 141 and 142 below, we have to apply the CET to all countries neither belonging to nor enjoying any special arrangements with the enlarged Community. For those countries affected which at present have no preferential position in our market, this will involve only fairly minor adjustments to the duties we apply to their goods; in general, the CET is rather lower than our own tariff. However, for the countries affected which currently enjoy free entry to our market, it will mean the gradual application of the CET to their exports to this country. It has been agreed that our move to the CET should be carried out in four stages, starting a year after accession. The table below shows how these arrangements will work out if we join the Community on 1 January 1973:

Abolition of tariffs between the United Kingdom (per cent)	Cumulative reduction (per cent)
April 1, 1973	20
January 1, 1974	40
January 1, 1975	60
January 1, 1976	80
July 1, 1977	100

Adoption of CET towards countries of the Community (per cent)	Cumulative adoption of CET towards countries of the Community (per cent)
April 1, 1973	20
January 1, 1974	40
January 1, 1975	60
January 1, 1976	80
July 1, 1977	100

The countries expected to have special arrangements with the enlarged Community include those members of the European Free Trade Association who will become members of the Community: the independent Commonwealth countries in Africa, the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific; our dependent territories, except Gibraltar and Hong Kong (for which see paragraph 113 below); and the countries with which the existing Community has special arrangements, which include the countries associated under the Yaounde Convention, the dependent territories of the Six and the countries mentioned in paragraph 145 below. The enlarged Community will also be offering preferences to developing countries under the United Nations Conference of Trade and Development Generalised Preference Scheme.

80. These arrangements have two substantial advantages for us. In the first place they will ensure that within three years of entry (when the Community's tariffs will have been cut by 8 per cent) our exporters will have virtually duty-free access to the large and rapidly growing market of the Six. The opportunities will be considerable. The CET is not on average high, but tariff averages can be misleading; in several sectors of importance to British industry the barriers to entry are substantial—22 per cent on commercial vehicles, up to 18 per cent on organic chemicals, 16-18 per cent on plastics, 18 per cent on tractors and 14 per cent on diesel engines. In the second place the delay of entry to the CET should lengthen the period of adjustment for our Commonwealth partners.

Agricultural transition

81. Under the common agricultural policy the level of market prices for the main agricultural commodities is maintained in two ways. The price of imports is kept up to a minimum of threshold price by means of variable import levies; and the intervention price is supported at an intervention price slightly below the threshold price, which any surpluses are bought by the Community's agricultural fund. These arrangements apply to cereals, milk, products, beef and veal, pigmeat, sugar and (except for support buying) to poultry and eggs, though they vary in detail for each commodity. The agricultural fund also compensates Community exporters when their sales in third countries are made at a price below Community levels.

82. We shall adopt this Community system of support, though not Community prices in the first year of membership. We shall introduce a threshold and intervention prices of our own. These will be lower than the full Community threshold and intervention

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prices—the difference corresponding to the difference between our market price levels and those of the present members. We shall then increase our threshold and intervention prices gradually to full Community levels by six steps over the five years of the transitional period. These will be equal steps, subject to a 10 per cent tolerance up or down in the interests of flexibility. As market prices are increased, British farmers will increasingly get their returns from the market, and deficiency payments will be phased out.

53 There will be free trade with the six in the products concerned, subject only, throughout the transitional period, to arrangements to compensate for the difference in price levels. These will take the form of fixed levies on our exports to them and fixed compensatory payments on their exports to us. These levies and export payments will be gradually reduced by six steps over the five years, as prices come into line. There will be comparable arrangements for trade between the present member countries of the Community and the other applicant countries, and between the applicant countries.

54 The operation of the levy system will give preference to the enlarged Community preference over imports from other countries whenever market prices are below the threshold. British producers will share in this preference throughout the Community and will take the form of tariff adjustments to support their market.

55 For those agricultural commodities for which the Community has a common external tariff instead of, or in addition to, levies, the transitional arrangements will take the form of tariff adjustments similar to those agreed for industry (paragraph 79). Our tariff will gradually be adjusted to the common external tariff and eliminated against other members of the enlarged Community. These arrangements will be worked out in detail. For horticulture, which depends on the tariff as its main form of protection, there will be a slower rate of tariff adjustment with no change at all in the first year of transition. For apples and pears, the existing import quotas will be replaced by compensatory input levies offsetting the difference between British and Community prices. These levies will be phased out over five years as to bring prices gradually into line with the same provision for flexibility in the Community's agricultural prices. The horticultural industry is subject to some climatic and structural disadvantages, but there are many sectors in which it is competitive and in all sectors there will be opportunities for efficient growers who can adapt to the new situation. Assistance for new investment is already given under the horticulture improvement scheme and the Government have recently announced a high rate of grant for grubbing up old orchards to improve the market for commercial producers. These efficient growers face special problems of adjustment and the Government will do the necessary help to meet them. The Government will consider with the industry how this can best be done.

It has further been agreed that the enlarged Community will be ready to meet any difficulties arising out of a transitional arrangements for agriculture and horticulture in any threat about dislocation to Commonwealth and other third country suppliers.

The transitional arrangements provide a sound basis for a smooth and orderly transition for our farmers and growers under conditions of fair competition and stability. They also allow us for the safeguarding of trading terms, with safeguards against dislocation. British farm output is on a long term and it has been the policy of the Government to encourage this. The enlarged Community British farmers generally can expect better returns for their produce despite higher feed costs. There will be no better prospects for our exports agricultural and food products to the markets of the enlarged Community at higher prices. Or efficient agricultural food industries are well placed to take advantage of these opportunities. As a result of our entry, home agricultural output can be expected to expand more quickly in our country than expected additional expansion of 8 per cent overall on this account in 1977. With these prospects, the industry can plan ahead and invest with confidence.

It is estimated that membership will affect food prices gradually over a period of about six years with an increase of about 25 per cent each year retail prices. This is for account for out a quarter of total consumer expenditure the effect on the cost of living would be about 1 per cent each year. There is, of course, no harm in the effect of entry on the retail prices of foodstuffs, here will depend on many factors, including the efficiency of our own system of processing and distribution, will vary from commodity to commodity. Some, such as butter, beef, and lamb, are likely to rise by significantly more than the average; others, such as bread, flour and eggs, by about a average; and others, such as milk, h. oils and fats, tea and coffee should show little change in price. For some fruit and vegetables prices should be lower at certain times of the year. However, the increase in food prices will be offset to some extent by lower prices for other consumer goods as a result of tariff reductions.

These estimates compare with an estimated increase of 18.28 per cent in food prices over the transitional period set out in the 1970 White Paper. Since the White Paper was published, however, the gap between United Kingdom and Community food prices has narrowed considerably, partly because world prices have been rising faster in the Community prices.

Britain and the European Communities: An Economic Assessment. (Cmd. 4288, February 1970).

Retirement pensioners and those dependent on other social benefits will be protected from the effects of the increase in food prices through adjustments in those benefits. These adjustments will not begin to be felt until the spring and summer of 1973, and, indicated in paragraph 88, are likely to be small. The Government is committed at least to maintain the purchasing power of national insurance pensions and related benefits through regular reviews every two years. In the normal cycle the next review will take place in 1973. Supplementary benefits are kept under close review. The Government undertake that in these reviews, both in 1973 and subsequently, allowance will be made for the effect on prices of joining the EEC. National insurance pensioners and other social benefits, as well as those entitled to supplementary benefits will share in

the increased prosperity flowing from membership of the Community. Accession to the Community will not alter in any way the National Health Service.

Contribution to the Community Budget

91. From the outset the Government recognised, as did their predecessors, that it would not be possible to seek to make fundamental alterations in the system of providing funds for the Community. The existing members had finally agreed this system among themselves early in 1970 only after considerable difficulty and regarded it as an essential part of the process of "completing" the Community envisaged in The Hague Communiqué. The system is described in Annex A.1. The negotiations have therefore been directed to finding a method to enable us gradually to adapt to the Community system over a period of years, without placing an undue burden on our economy.

92. The solution which has been reached is as follows. A percentage of "key" has been set, broadly corresponding to our present share of the total gross national product (GNP) of the 10 countries likely to form the enlarged Community. This will represent the proportion of the budget which we should nominally be expected to pay in the first year of membership. This key will then increase marginally in each of the four subsequent years, under similar arrangements to those agreed by the six for themselves (see paragraph 5 of Annex A).

93. However, we shall pay only a proportion of our nominal contribution over these first five years. The proportion will increase in annual steps. The effect of these arrangements is shown in the table below. Column 2 sets out the nominal key which has been agreed. Column 3 shows the proportion of this nominal key which we shall in practice be required to pay. Column 4 gives our resulting share of the Community budget in each year. Column 5 sets out the possible size of our gross contributions on the assumption that the budget amounts to £1,400 millions in 1973 and rises to £1,600 millions by 1977. Column 6 shows the estimated build-up of our receipts from the budget, and the resulting estimates of our net payments are shown in the final column.

Year	(2) United Kingdom key Percentage of GNP of Community budget	(3) Percentage of key to be paid	(4) United Kingdom contribution (percentage of Community budget)	(5) Possible United Kingdom gross contribution (£m.)	(6) Possible United Kingdom net contribution (£m.)
1973	10.19	45.0	4.59	63.4	10.1
1974	10.28	50.0	5.14	72.4	10.5
1975	10.37	55.0	5.70	81.4	10.9
1976	10.46	60.0	6.28	90.4	11.3
1977	10.55	65.0	6.86	99.4	11.7

It will be seen that we should be required to pay 5.64 per cent of the budget of the enlarged Community in the first year, rising to 13.92 per cent in the fifth year — the latter being broadly comparable to our proportion of the gross national product of the enlarged Community.

94. After the first five years there will be a further period of two years during which the size of our contribution will continue to be limited as follows. The Commission will calculate what our contribution to the budget would have been in 1977 if we had been required in that year to apply the direct income system in full (see Annex A, paragraphs 3 and 4).

In 1978 our contribution will not increase above that for 1977 by more than two-fifths of any difference between the Commission's calculation and our actual contribution in 1977. In 1979 it will increase in our contribution over 1978 will be limited similarly.

95. In 1980 and subsequent years we shall be required to contribute 90 per cent of our agricultural levy and customs duty receipts and such value added tax (VAT) not exceeding the yield of a 1 per cent VAT on the total output from each member country to close any gap between Community expenditure and Community revenues from levies and duties. It is not possible to make any valid estimate of the size of our levy and duty receipts in the 1980s. The outcome depends on a large number of unpredictable factors. For example, earlier estimates of our levy receipts in the mid-1970s have already been invalidated by the recent substantial narrowing in the gap between world and Community food prices. Nor is it possible to make any reliable forecast of the future size and pattern of our trade and so of the sources of imports, on which any estimate of both levy and duty receipts must depend. Finally, it is impossible to foresee the likely size of our VAT contribution. The size of this contribution (if any) would be a function of the size of the Community budget and of aggregate receipts of levies and duties from all member countries. The gap between these two amounts would have to widen very considerably indeed if member countries were to be required to contribute the full 1 per cent of VAT. This can only likely to widen in this way if the enlarged Community were to spend much more on non-agricultural activities, such as industrial and regional development, in which case the United Kingdom could expect to enjoy much larger receipts.

96. Thus, in the Government's view, neither our contribution to the Community budget in the 1980s are susceptible of valid estimation at this stage. And it is for this reason that the Community declared to us during the course of the negotiations that if unacceptable situations should arise "the very survival of the Community would depend on the institutions find equitable solutions."

The Commonwealth

97. As has been made clear, the interests of Commonwealth countries have been a major concern of Her Majesty's Government throughout the negotiations.

98. Provision has been made to safeguard New Zealand exports of dairy products by arrangements acceptable to the New Zealand Government. Both the British Government and the New Zealand Government consider that the position which will obtain on entry into the Community in respect of trade in New Zealand lamb is satisfactory.

99. For all British dependent territories with the exception of Hong Kong and Gibraltar (see paragraph 118) and for independent Commonwealth developing countries with the exception of those in Asia, arrangements have been made which provide the opportunities of Association — or in the case of the Independent developing countries, the alternative of a trade agreement — with the enlarged Community, thereby permitting these countries access on favourable terms to the markets of the enlarged Community. Sugar producing countries in the developing Commonwealth have the assurance that within the framework of an association agreement or a trading arrangement it will be the Community's firm purpose to safeguard their interests.

100. Independent Asian Commonwealth countries will not only benefit from the generalised preference scheme of the enlarged Community, but also from the Community's continuing objective to expand and reinforce existing trade relations and that the Community will be ready to examine trade problems which might arise in future with a view to finding appropriate solutions.

101. For the more highly industrialised members of the Commonwealth — Australia and Canada — it has been recognised since 1967 that special arrangements of the kind negotiated for New Zealand and developed in the Commonwealth countries would be inappropriate. The Common External Tariff will be applied to their industrial exports into the United Kingdom gradually over the transitional period. Their export of agricultural produce to the United Kingdom will also be affected by the arrangements made with the Community. But they stand to benefit from the agreements on tariffs on certain industrial materials (see Annex B); and it has been agreed that the Community will take speedy and effective action to deal with any abrupt dislocation of trade in agricultural products.

New Zealand dairy products and lamb

102. Butter accounts for about 11 per cent of New Zealand's export earnings, and cheese for about 4 per cent. About 85 per cent of her export earnings from butter and cheese come from exports to the United Kingdom. Our aim has been to secure satisfactory arrangements for continuing access for New Zealand exports of these products to the markets of the enlarged Community. This was particularly desirable for butter, because butter is much the more important to the New Zealand dairy industry and because New Zealand butter will be in direct competition with supplies from other countries. In the enlarged Community countries are not major producers of cheddar cheese.

103. It has been agreed that there will be special arrangements to guarantee New Zealand a market for agreed quantities of dairy products. For butter, the guaranteed quantity for the first five years will be reduced by 4 per cent per annum so that in the fifth year of the transitional period New Zealand will be able to sell at least 80 per cent of her present entitlement in the United Kingdom. For cheese, the quantities guaranteed will gradually be reduced through steps of 30, 20, and 10 per cent in the first four years of the transitional period. By the fifth year, this means that in terms of milk equivalent New Zealand can be assured of selling at least 71 per cent of the present quantity in 1977. Moreover, New Zealand will under these arrangements enjoy a guaranteed price for her sales at the average of prices on our market during the four years 1969-72. We estimate that this will result in prices to New Zealand substantially higher than the average of recent years, when New Zealand has not had a guaranteed price in our market.

104. During this first five-year period, the Community, of which we would of course be a member, to make adjustments as between guaranteed quantities of butter and of cheese, provided that the tonnage expressed as milk equivalent corresponds to the total quantities approved for the two products for the year in question.

105. The effect of these arrangements is that New Zealand will still be guaranteed to six years' time minimum sales of 136,000 tons of butter and 15,000 tons of cheese (and considerably more meanwhile). These are minimum guarantees, and depend on market requirements. New Zealand may have the prospect of selling more under the normal Community arrangements, especially in the case of cheese. Since we estimate that the price which New Zealand will receive will be substantially above the level of recent years, this will give her the prospect over the five years of total export earnings in our market at or above the level of those which she has enjoyed in recent years.

106. During the third year after our accession, the institutions of the Community will review the butter situation, taking account of the supply and demand position and trends in the major producing and consumer countries of the world, particularly in the Community and New Zealand. They will decide, in the light of this review, on the steps to be taken for ensuring beyond 1977 the continuation of special arrangements for New Zealand butter. There will be no guarantee for cheese after 1977, but substantial sales are expected to continue as New Zealand cheese does not compete directly with Community production.

107. Among the considerations of which account will be taken during this review will be the progress made towards an effective world agreement on milk products and the question of New Zealand's progress towards diversification of its economy and its exports. The Community have undertaken to make every effort to promote the conclusion of an international agreement on dairy products, and to pursue a trade policy which will not frustrate New Zealand's efforts to diversify. This should help New Zealand to increase her earnings in other markets.

108. These agreements have been accepted by the New Zealand Government as adequately safeguarding her interests and as a major concession by the Community. Although they have some reservation about the basis for determining the guaranteed price (because they naturally wanted the best possible price), they have expressed their confidence that on the basis of this settlement New Zealand will meet the challenge of British membership of the Communities and

have described the agreement as highly satisfactory.

109. The arrangements described above represent a satisfactory settlement of the problems raised for New Zealand's butter and cheese exports. The Government have recognised that New Zealand also depends heavily on the British market for her exports of lamb. These three products play a vital role in the economic and social well-being of New Zealand.

110. There is no common organisation of the market in the Community for sheepmeat and each member state at present sets its own conditions for entry from third countries. There is however one common element. This is the CET at a level of 20 per cent and we have agreed to adjust to this tariff over the transitional period. Both we and New Zealand consider that an acceptable volume of trade in New Zealand lamb will continue to flow over such a tariff. Forward estimates of production and consumption indicate that the United Kingdom in the enlarged Community will remain a substantial importer of New Zealand lamb. Both the United Kingdom and New Zealand are closely concerned with arrangements for sheepmeat following British entry, as the United Kingdom will be by far the major consumer of sheepmeat in an enlarged Community. The Government have therefore been able to express to the New Zealand Government their confidence that there will continue to be adequate and remunerative access for lamb from traditional sources of supply.

Sugar

111. Our aim has been to obtain a firm assurance of a secure and continuing market in the enlarged Community on fair terms for the sugar exports of the developing countries which are members of the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement (CSA).

112. The Government's contractual obligations to buy agreed quantities of sugar under the CSA from all participating countries, including Australia, until the end of 1974 will be fulfilled and domestic beet sugar production will accordingly continue to be limited until then. Thereafter it has been agreed that the arrangements for sugar imports from developing Commonwealth sugar producers should be made within the framework of an association agreement or trading agreement with the enlarged Community. (The arrangements for India are dealt with in paragraph 119.) It has further been agreed that the enlarged Community will have as its firm purpose the safeguarding of the interests of the developing countries concerned whose economies depend to a considerable extent on the export of primary products and in particular of sugar. After consultations held in London on 2-3 June 1971, this solution was accepted as satisfactory by the countries concerned on the basis of the following statement which has been placed on record with the Community:

"The Governments represented (United Kingdom, Antigua, Barbados, Fiji, Guyana, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Mauritius, Swaziland, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla and British Honduras) expressed their satisfaction at the Community's readiness to offer the governments concerned a choice of forms of association or a trading agreement; and also at the readiness to recognise the United Kingdom's contractual commitments to all the CSA member countries up to the end of 1974.

They noted that, in negotiations with the enlarged Community on association or trading agreements, it would be open to the governments concerned to act individually or collectively. They further noted that the negotiations were due to be concluded by 1975, and that pending conclusion their existing patterns of trade with the United Kingdom would be maintained.

There was a full discussion of the Community's offer made on sugar after 1974. The British Delegation assured other delegations that the Community's proposals constituted a specific and moral commitment by the enlarged Community, of which the United Kingdom would be a part. The British Government and other Commonwealth Governments participating regard this offer as a firm assurance of a secure and continuing market in the enlarged Community on fair terms for the quantities of sugar covered by the Community's Sugar Agreement, in respect of all its existing developing member countries. The developing Commonwealth countries will continue to plan their future on this basis.

In addition, representatives of the Governments concerned stressed the importance of a continuing and vibrant International Sugar Agreement to all sugar-producing countries.

Trade relations with developing members of the Commonwealth and dependent territories

113. We made it clear in the negotiations that we needed to ensure that trade relations between these countries and the enlarged Community should be safeguarded either by the establishment of association arrangements, comparable with those already accorded to developing countries with members of the present Community, or where this was not appropriate, by alternative solutions.

114. There are various ways in which developing countries are at present associated with the Community. Under the Yaoundé Convention, certain African States and the Malagasy Republic enjoy preferential or duty-free access to the markets of the Community, usually in return for preferences which they grant on exports from the Community in their markets. They receive development aid from the European Development Fund and they participate in a Council of Association. The present Yaoundé Convention expires on January 31, 1975, and the negotiations for its renewal are due to begin in 1973.

115. Other association arrangements providing for mutual rights and obliga-

tions, particularly in matters of trade, are also possible. As an example, three Commonwealth African countries, Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda, already have a form of association known as the Arusha Convention, which is similar to the Yaoundé Convention, except that the range of goods covered by the preferential arrangements is more limited, and there is no provision for development aid from the Community.

116. Dependent territories of the existing members of the Community are associated with the Community under Part IV of the Treaty of Rome. The benefits in trade and agriculture of the Arusha Convention are broadly the same as those provided under the Yaoundé Convention to independent States associated with the Community.

117. The independent Commonwealth countries in Africa, the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean, and the Pacific will be able to choose between three options: association under a renewed Yaoundé Convention (the renewed Convention will have to make provision for development aid both to the existing associates and to new associates); some other form of association, of the kind exemplified by the Arusha Convention or a commercial agreement to facilitate and expand trade with the Community. The countries concerned are Barbados, Botswana, Fiji, Gambia, Guyana, Jamaica, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Tanzania, Trinidad and Tobago, Tonga, Uganda, Western Samoa, and Zambia. They will not need to make their choice immediately and it has been agreed that by January 31, 1975 (when the present Yaoundé Convention expires) the present trading arrangements between us and these countries can be maintained.

118. All British dependent territories (and the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides) will be offered association under Part IV of the Treaty of Rome, except for Gibraltar and Hong Kong. The territories concerned are Bahamas, Bermuda, British Antarctic Territory, British Honduras, British Indian Ocean Territory, British Solomon Islands Protectorate, British Virgin Islands, Brunei, Cayman Islands, Central and Southern Line Islands, Falkland Islands and Dependencies, Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, Montserrat, New Hebrides (with France), Pitcairn, St. Helena and Dependencies, Ascension and Tristan da Cunha, Seychelles, Turks and Caicos Islands, and West Indian Associated States (Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla).

Gibraltar will be covered by Article 227(4) of the Treaty of Rome, which enjoins that the Treaty provisions should apply to the European territories for whose external relations a member State is responsible. But, since Gibraltar is not a part of the United Kingdom's customs territory, it has been agreed, at Gibraltar's request, that she should not be included in the customs territory of the enlarged Community. The Community agreed, as a result of the negotiations, to help Hong Kong by including her within the scope of their scheme of generalised preferences from the date of its implementation.

119. India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaysia, and Singapore. We and the Community have said that it will be our continuing objective to expand and reinforce existing trade relations with these countries. The Community will be ready, after enlargement to examine with them trade problems (including the question of Indian exports of sugar to the enlarged Community which might arise taking into account the scope of the Generalised Preference Scheme, from which they will derive considerable benefit. The continued suspension of the Community tariff on tea, which has been secured in the negotiations, is also of considerable importance to India and Ceylon.

120. Malta already has an association agreement which was extended to include trading arrangements but not aid. Cyprus is currently negotiating for a similar agreement.

Australia

121. Our entry into the Communities will place at some risk only a small proportion — at most only 71 per cent — of Australian export trade. In 1969-70 Britain took under 12 per cent of Australia's exports — a very different situation from ten years previously when we were still buying more than 25 per cent. Products affected by the common agricultural policy, in particular, now represent a very low percentage of Australia's total exports — for example, dairy products sent to Britain in 1969-70 represented only 1.1 per cent of her total world exports sugar only 0.7 per cent and wheat only 1.2 per cent. Moreover, well over one-third of Australian exports to Britain are products which will enter duty free under the CET or benefit from the duty quotas agreed during the negotiations. For example, there will be no duty on raw wool which accounts for nearly 10 per cent of our imports from Australia on a metalliferous ore 16.4 per cent of copper (2.7 per cent). Lead bullion 10.6 per cent will benefit from the special duty arrangements described in Annex B.

Canada

122. In 1970 only 9 per cent of Canada's total exports came to the United Kingdom, compared with 17 per cent in 1960. About 30 per cent of Canada's exports to the United Kingdom in 1969 were products which will continue to enter duty-free. A further 10-15 per cent would benefit from the special duty arrangements described in Annex B — the most significant of these for Canada are those on newsprint, plywood, wood pulp, and phosphorous. The duty quota secured for newsprint will extend to nearly all Canada's exports to the whole of the enlarged Community, and not merely those to the United Kingdom. Almost a further 8 per cent of Canada's exports to this country are likely, although facing levies under the common agricultural policy, to be affected only marginally, if at all, because they cannot be obtained within the enlarged Community these are the hard wheat necessary for the type of bread traditionally in demand in British households, and the special quality malting barley produced in Canada.

The Channel Islands and the Isle of Man

123. The Channel Islands and the Isle of Man have for centuries enjoyed a special constitutional position in rela-

tion to the United Kingdom. They have their own legislatures, and they have their own fiscal systems and special customs arrangements.

124. Their inclusion in the Community would present constitutional, administrative and economic difficulties. Accordingly, after full consultation with them, we are seeking for the Islands arrangements short of full membership which would provide for an exchange of reciprocal rights and obligations between the Community and the Islands. We have proposed that a form of association under article 238 of the Treaty of Rome might be an appropriate way of dealing with the question.

Financial and monetary issues Sterling

125. Following separate discussion with the member countries of the Community in the context of the negotiations, on 7 June, 1971 the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster made the following statement to them:

"I put on record at our meeting in May a number of statements which have been made on behalf of Her Majesty's Government on these questions. I would now like to add the following statement. We are prepared to envisage an orderly and gradual rundown of official sterling balances after our accession.

"We shall be ready to discuss after our entry into the Communities what measures might be appropriate to achieve a progressive alignment of the external characteristics of our practices in relation to sterling with those of other currencies in the Community in the context of progress towards economic and monetary union and we are confident that official sterling balances will be handled in a way which will enable us to take our full part in that progress.

"In the meantime we shall manage our policies with a view to stabilising the official sterling balances in a way which would be consistent with these longer term objectives.

"I hope that the Community will regard this statement as disposing satisfactorily of the question of sterling and associated matters, leaving open the arrangements for the United Kingdom's compliance with the directives relating to capital movements under the Treaty of Rome to be settled in the course of the negotiations."

126. The Six replied that the Community had taken note of this statement with satisfaction, and proposed that it should be the subject of an exchange of letters to be annexed to the Treaty of Accession.

127. In amplification of this exchange, the Prime Minister made the following statement to the House of Commons on 10 June 1971:

"... sterling is not an issue in the negotiations but is a matter to be discussed in the context of the negotiations. So when it was raised by the Six earlier in the year we readily agreed to discuss it.

"At The Hague in December 1969 the Community declared its intention of moving towards economic and monetary union. That raises understandable and proper questions, put to us in good faith, about the adjustments that might be required for a currency in an enlarged Community which had an appreciable role as an international reserve currency.

"We have said three things to the Community. We have said that as members of the enlarged Community we should play our part in the progress towards economic and monetary union. That was confirmed in my talk with President Pompidou and in my statement to the House. We have said that we are prepared to envisage a gradual and orderly rundown of official sterling balances after our accession. We have said that after accession we would discuss measures by which a progressive alignment of the external characteristics of sterling with those of other Community currencies might be achieved.

"Both of these developments would be viewed in the context of progress towards economic and monetary union. But let me make absolutely clear the three conditions which any takings as to how fast or by what means these developments could or should be brought about would be matters for discussion after our entry, when we should be a full member of the Community with all the rights of a member. As I emphasised at the press conference following my meeting with President Pompidou and in the statement to the House, both President Pompidou and myself agreed that no country's vital interests would be over-ruled by the Community. We have made clear the three conditions which any proposal for reducing the official sterling balances would have to satisfy: notably, of course, the protection of the interests of balance holders and the avoidance of unacceptable burdens on our balance of payments.

"Progress towards economic and monetary union and the future of sterling in an enlarged Community do involve enormously complex problems. It has to be considered, for example, what alternative asset would be generally acceptable for sterling holders, what arrangements would be needed for holders to acquire such an asset, and what form and maturity of corresponding liability might be undertaken by them. These are not matters to which the Community has clear and agreed answers. They would need a great deal of discussion, both within the enlarged Community and with others concerned. It would be impossible to settle these problems in the context of these negotiations. It is an advantage to us, not a weakness, that they are now left for discussion after our accession, when we should contribute as members of the enlarged Community to the processes of discussion and decision-making.

"Two things have happened in our discussions with the Six. ... First, the Six have become clearer about the size and complexity of the problems to be dealt with in this area.

Continued overleaf

Secondly, they have accepted that, if we become members of the Community, we shall be ready to discuss the whole subject of a fully Community spirit, without preconceptions or prejudices about how to deal with the problems. That is not asked for and have not entered into any specific undertakings or commitments on methods or timetables, and that is why my right hon. and learned Friend's (the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster) statement of our position has been accepted as disposing of the whole question in the context of the negotiations."

128. In the Government's view, it will be to the advantage of the United Kingdom as well as of the others concerned if in due course arrangements, which meet the conditions stated, can be worked out for the official sterling balances. The prospect of doing this will be enhanced by our membership of the Community.

Capital movements

129. The Treaty of Rome provides for the progressive abolition of restrictions on movements of capital between member countries, and the Directives made under it have applied this to most of the main categories, though some restrictions still continue.

130. At present the United Kingdom operates certain exchange control restrictions in respect of capital movements to all Non-Sterling Area countries including those in the Community. We have put forward proposals for making the necessary adjustments to our exchange control policies in consultation with member countries, so as to move by stages to full compliance with EEC obligations by the end of a transitional period of five years. We have proposed that we should adjust our rules first on direct investment and then on personal capital other than portfolio investment; portfolio investment would be dealt with later in the transitional period. Thus the cost to the official reserves of these changes would be spread over the transitional period, during which we may expect some additional inward investment which will help to offset that cost.

131. Our proposals on this matter are still under consideration by the Community.

Fiscal harmonisation

132. The Community countries have all adopted, or will shortly introduce, a Value Added Tax (VAT). Initially, we sought to ensure reasonable transitional arrangements for moving over to that system after entry. Subsequently, in the 1971 Budget the Chancellor announced the introduction of a VAT in this country in 1973 as a means of improving our own tax system. There is therefore no longer any need for a transitional period. It should be noted that members of the Community are at present free to determine their own rates and coverage for VAT, although it is envisaged that in due course harmonised rates and coverage may be introduced by unanimous agreement.

133. During the course of the transitional period our present customs duties (on hydrocarbon oils, beer, spirits, wine, and tobacco) will need to be converted into internal taxes in order to conform with the Treaty of Rome. As with the VAT, members of the Community are at present free to determine the rates of these duties.

European Investment Bank

134. The Bank provides loans for economic development, principally in member countries; it has provided finance for such things as road construction and factory building. Development projects in the United Kingdom would, after our accession, be eligible for such assistance from the Bank.

135. The Bank's finance is supplied by the subscriptions of member countries and by borrowing on capital markets. It was agreed that we should make the same subscription to the capital of the Bank as France and Germany (£12.5 millions, of which £3.75 millions will be paid up). The subscription will be wholly payable in sterling and will fall due in instalments over a period of two and a half years from our accession. It is expected that the greater part of this sum will remain in the United Kingdom and will not be transferred across the exchanges. Negotiations on a United Kingdom contribution to the Bank's statutory reserves have not yet been completed.

136. We will be represented on the Bank's management on the same footing as France, Germany and Italy.

Regional and industrial policies

Regional policies

137. Because of the new opportunities for the economy as a whole, we shall be able as members of the Community to deal more effectively with our problems of regional development. All our experience over the years is that measures to stimulate such development work best within a wider framework of expanding trade and investment.

138. The Community recognises that regional policy has a vital and continuing role to play in economic development. Membership, therefore, will not inhibit the continuation and further development of vigorous regional policies which are necessary both on economic and social grounds. The existing members of the Community are pursuing such policies and they are using a wide range of regional assistance measures, many of which are similar to our own measures.

139. In the enlarged Community, we shall be sharing experience and exploring how the institutions of the Community can help us in dealing with the process of regional adaptation to major changes in industrial structure.

Special tariff arrangements

140. Duties on most industrial materials are zero in both the United Kingdom tariff and the CET of the

Community, but there are a number of items of particular importance to British industry which are dutiable under the CET, and we have sought to ensure that membership of the Community will not lead to new charge on supplies of these materials.

141. In some cases, after a careful examination of the situation, it has been concluded that the enlarged Community will be self-sufficient. For the rest, we have agreed on arrangements which will ensure that about 90 per cent of our imports from outside the enlarged Community will continue to be imported free of duty. These arrangements will be particularly beneficial to Canada and Australia, who are important suppliers of several of the materials concerned. The agreements reached are summarised in Annex B.

142. In addition, the Community has agreed to continue indefinitely its suspension of the duty on tea.

The free movement of labour

143. Under the Community's regulations nationals of member countries may enter the territory of another member state to look for work or to take a job already arranged. In practice the provision for the free movement of nationals of the Six to seek or take up work has had only a limited effect on the actual movement of workers. The Community as a whole has been consistently short of labour and large numbers of workers from outside the Community have moved into it to take up unfilled jobs. Inside the Community movement of workers between member countries actually diminished between 1965 and 1968. The movement of labour within an enlarged Community will probably continue to be dominated by economic and social factors, rather than by regulations, and the position in practice is likely to be similar to that which now prevails. For these reasons the Government have not asked for any transitional safeguards for our national labour market as a result of the enlargement of the Community, and among the questions raised by the previous Government. Certain questions arising from the Community's regulations (e.g. the definition of nationality) are being discussed with the Community. The Community's regulations will not, of course, affect our controls over immigration from countries outside the Community.

144. For Northern Ireland, however, we have sought a five-year transitional period before the application of the Community's requirements on free movement of labour. During this period any available work there should be reserved, as it now is, for residents of Northern Ireland. In the first instance, we have also stated that it may well be necessary towards the end of the five years to consider whether, and if so what, further special measures will still be needed.

Third country agreements

145. The Community has negotiated association agreements or preferential trade agreements with Greece, Turkey, Tunisia, Morocco, Israel, Spain and Malta.

146. We have agreed to accede to these agreements, subject to transitional provisions and any other adaptations that may need to be made in consultation with the countries concerned. Detailed discussions have begun, and it has been agreed that the aim is to settle all these questions before the end of the transitional period, but without delaying the conclusion of these negotiations.

147. Gaining preferential access to Greece, Turkey, Tunisia, Morocco, Israel and Spain, with a total population of just under 100 millions, should be of substantial benefit to British exporters.

Other agricultural and fisheries questions

148. At the outset, in addition to the transitional problems described in paragraph 81.89, we raised a number of agricultural questions which have now been satisfactorily resolved. There will be annual reviews of conditions and prospects for agriculture both nationally and on a Community basis, including meaningful and effective consultation with producers' representatives. It has also been established that adequate supplies of milk for domestic consumption can be assured throughout the year under the Community's price system, and the Milk Marketing Board, like the other Marketing Boards, are expected to continue their essential marketing functions. For pigmeat and eggs the Community have fully recognised the special importance of market stability and a close watch will be kept on developments in an enlarged Community.

149. Good progress has also been made in adapting the detailed provisions of the common agricultural policy and other Community legislation in the agricultural and food sector to the circumstances of an enlarged Community. Detailed discussions are still continuing on a number of important aspects, notably about food manufacturing. A number of adaptations are called for to reflect the special circumstances of the United Kingdom food trade, and to ensure that our food manufacturers can take maximum advantage of the wider market which will be available to them.

Hill farming

150. We have explained to the Community the problems of our hill farming areas, and the policies which have led us to give special assistance to farmers in these areas. Existing member countries face similar problems and within the framework of the common agricultural policy they have adopted a variety of methods to deal with them. They have recognised the need for similar action in those areas of the United Kingdom where special conditions obtain. We shall therefore be

able to give the continuing assistance needed to maintain the incomes of farmers in the hill areas.

Animal health

151. There are differences between the animal disease situation here and in the Community and in the methods of control employed. In particular the Community apply vaccination and slaughter policies against foot and mouth disease and require that cattle passing between member states must have been vaccinated, whereas we rely on a slaughter policy alone. Our aim is to ensure that the progressive improvement of animal health standards will continue in the enlarged Community. We have accordingly proposed that an expert working group including the other applicants should be set up to assess the technical and commercial considerations and the possible measures that might be taken.

Fisheries

152. We and the other applicant countries have made clear that we do not consider the common fisheries policy, decided upon at the time our negotiations began, to be appropriate to the needs and circumstances of an enlarged Community, particularly in respect of access to fishing grounds. (The common policy does not, of course, affect member states' rights to control access to their fishing grounds by non-member countries.) Our own catch is greater than any of those of the existing members of the Community. About two-thirds of our 21,000 fishermen are interested mainly in fishing around our shores, but in terms of value of catch our middle and distant water fleets are of great importance.

153. The Community have agreed that the arrangements governing access to coastal fisheries will have to be reconsidered in the perspective of enlargement and further discussions will be held in the near future. The Government are determined to secure arrangements which will be fair to our fishermen, to the enlarged Community and will satisfactorily safeguard the interests of British fishermen.

European Coal and Steel Community

154. The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was the first Community established by the Six. It dates from the Treaty of Paris signed in 1951. It is a community of coal and steel, and its main purpose is to ensure a steady supply of coal and steel to the Community, while at the same time taking account of the needs of third countries; to promote the orderly expansion and modernisation of production; and to provide better conditions of living and employment for the workers in the industries. The Community has at its disposal considerable funds which derive from levies on the coal and steel production of Community undertakings. These funds help the development of the industries, provide cheap loans for workers' houses, and help finance new employment opportunities and retraining schemes for any coal and steel employees who become redundant. They also provide grants for coal and steel research.

155. It has been the declared policy of this Government, as of their predecessor, to accept the Treaty of Paris and the regulations made under it. At the meeting of the Council of Western European Union at The Hague on July 4, 1967, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Right Hon. Mr. Brown, MP, stated: "In the case of the European Coal and Steel Community we seek only a limited period of transition. Thereafter we are prepared fully to implement these two Treaties (i.e., the Treaty of Paris and the Euratom Treaty) and all the arrangements made under them."

The United Kingdom and the European Communities' Statement made by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, at the meeting of the Council of Western European Union at The Hague on July 4, 1967. (Cmd. 3345: July 1967.)

156. In the course of the negotiations we have secured terms which are acceptable to British coal and steel interests. The Community have assured us that they have no intention of enquiring into the size or the legal position of the British Steel Corporation or the National Coal Board.

157. In general, the present relationship between the Government and the coal and steel industries will continue, although the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry's powers to give directions of a general character will be reduced to be confined to cases of "manifest crises" and with the agreement of the Council of Ministers, of which we shall be a member. They have never in fact been used and there seems no likelihood of their being used in the future. Our industries will remain entirely unaffected provided there is no question of unfair subsidisation. This is wholly in accord with present Government policy. On this basis, we have undertaken to bring our legislation and practices into line with the Treaty of Paris. One of the aims of the Treaty is to ensure the orderly supply and free movement of coal and steel throughout the Community and it would clearly be incompatible with this aim for Governments of individual member States to be able to distort competition by imposing discriminatory prices. The powers of the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry to give a direction on prices to the British Steel Corporation, arising out of a recommendation of the Iron and Steel Consumers' Council, will therefore, as already announced, need to be repealed. In the event of our entry the Iron and Steel Consumers' Council will be wound up. Further consideration is being given to the powers of the Coal Consumers' Council. We shall, however, be appropriately represented by producers, consumers, and workers on the ECSC Consultative Committee. As regards prices generally the NCB, the BSC, and the independent steel producers will need to operate pricing practices in accordance with the common law which will apply within the enlarged Community. In the formulation of future policy in this field we shall of course have a major role. Coal imports from Community

countries will be free from restrictions, as will our coal exports to them. This freedom of trade should benefit our coal industry.

158. As regards transitional measures it has been agreed that tariffs for steel products covered by the Treaty of Paris will move at the same rate as has been agreed for industrial products generally (see paragraph 79 above). We have also secured a transitional period of two years during which we may, if we wish, maintain control over the export within the enlarged Community of certain grades of scrap.

159. We shall gain access to the reserve funds of the Community, which amount to about £50 millions, immediately upon accession and will be able to benefit from them on an equal footing with other member states. Accordingly we have agreed to make an investment in them amounting to £24 millions, to be paid in three equal annual instalments starting from the date of our accession. This is rather less than would be called for on a strict application of the ratio of the value of our coal and steel production to that of the Community. The money will be banked and spent primarily, probably wholly, in the United Kingdom.

European Atomic Energy Community

160. The European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) is the third of the European Communities. It was set up by a separate Treaty which, like the Treaty setting up the Economic Community, was signed in Rome in 1957. It is concerned with the peaceful uses of atomic energy, promotes nuclear research and ensures the dissemination of technical information.

161. We have agreed to accept this Treaty and the rules made under it in the case of tariffs, where the necessary changes will be made one year after accession. This movement in tariffs, which is more rapid than is being applied in the case of industrial products generally, is potentially beneficial to our interests. The balance of trade in nuclear items between this country and the other members of the enlarged Community is already in our favour and could improve further.

162. We have assured the Community that we shall play a full part in the future of Euratom and have agreed to participate in its research programmes. The Community have assured us that these programmes can be modified to take account of our entry. We expect some contracts for nuclear work to be placed in the United Kingdom.

163. Euratom operates a system of control and inspection of civil nuclear installations, which is designed to ensure that nuclear materials are not diverted to purposes other than those for which they are intended. We have agreed to accept the Euratom control system. This will not, of course, impede the military nuclear activities of the United Kingdom nor should it occasion to nuclear operators in the civil field any greater inconvenience than they could expect to experience because of the offer made by the United Kingdom, in connection with the Non-Proliferation Treaty, to accept certain safeguards in relation to its civil nuclear programme. Nor would we envisage any difficulty for the United Kingdom arising from any agreement on safeguards between Euratom and the International Atomic Energy Agency, pursuant to the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

164. The Euratom Treaty is also designed to ensure that all users in the Community receive a regular and equitable supply of ores and nuclear fuels. But this part of the Treaty is at present unoperational. The Community have agreed to let us have their proposals before adopting them and we will be consulted about them.

165. It has also been agreed that we shall pay no entry fee in return for our access to the capital assets and scientific information held by this Community. At the same time, in recognition of the fact that we will have access to the complete stock of nuclear knowledge, the Community have agreed that we should pay an equivalent value with Euratom immediately after our accession.

The other applicants and the EFTA non-applicants

166. The negotiations between the Community and the other applicants for membership, Norway, Denmark, and the Irish Republic, have made considerable progress. All concerned hope that it will be possible to conclude the negotiations by the end of the year, in time to allow all four applicants to join the Community simultaneously.

167. The non-candidate members of EFTA (Austria, Iceland, Portugal, Sweden, and Switzerland), and Finland (an associate member of EFTA) are seeking arrangements with the Community which would vary, country by country, depending on their economic and political position. All of these countries are at present engaged in discussions with the Community.

168. We and our EFTA partners have stated in communiqués after several Ministerial meetings that we have a strong interest in maintaining, as part of the enlarged Community, the free trade already established in EFTA and in avoiding the re-erection of tariff barriers between members of EFTA. 169. EFTA Governments have also expressed their desire that the arrangements for the non-candidate members of EFTA should come into force at the same time as the enlargement of the Community. So has the Community.

ANNEX A

The Community's direct income system

1. During the period up to 1970, the Community's expenditure was financed by a combination of the proceeds from levies on agricultural imports which were made over to the Community, and financial contributions from the member states. The Treaty of Rome establishing the European Economic Community envisaged the replacement, in due course, of the national

contributions by the Community's own resources.

2. On 21 April 1970, following agreements reached at the Summit meeting of the Six at The Hague in December 1969, and the submission of proposals by the Commission, the Community's Council of Ministers adopted a new system designed to make the Community self-financing and to bring its expenditure into one central budget.

3. Under the new system, which came into effect on 1 January 1971, the Community will progressively draw a Community proportion of advance for its budget directly from the revenue of customs duties and of levies on agricultural imports. Except for a 10 per cent rebate to cover collection costs, all levies on agricultural imports will be handed over by member states to the Community in the case of customs duties, an increasing proportion will be paid over until, from 1 January 1975, all customs duties will be handed over, less the 10 per cent rebate. The remaining proportion of the necessary revenue will continue to be made up until 1975 by contributions from member states according to this agreed fixed scale:

	Per cent
Belgium	6.3
France	32.6
Germany	32.9
Italy	20.2
Luxembourg	0.2
Netherlands	7.3

The contributions from these countries in an enlarged Community would, of course, be different.

4. From 1 January 1975, in addition to the revenue from levies and customs duties the Community is due to receive directly a proportion (equivalent to up to 1 per cent rate) of the proceeds of a Value Added Tax, which by this time will be in force in all member states, to the extent necessary to meet any deficiency.

5. All these financing arrangements are subject, until 1973, to what are called "correctives," which will ensure that no country's share of the budget will increase or decline by more than a relatively small amount from the so-called "key" level fixed for 1970. From 1971 to 1974, no country's budget share may rise by more than 1 per cent (or fall by more than 1 per cent of the share in 1970). For the years 1975 until 1977 these annual limits will be 2 per cent of the previous year's share in either direction. Thus Italy, whose 1970 key was 21.5 per cent, would have a maximum contribution of about 23.75 per cent in 1977.

6. The revenue raised under these arrangements finances the common agricultural policy, the administrative costs of European institutions, the European Social Fund (to promote the employment and mobility of workers), research and investment through the European Atomic Energy Community, the Community's Food Aid Programme for overseas, and refunds to member states to cover the cost (assumed to be 10 per cent) of collection of levies and customs duties which are paid to the Community. The Community's budget for this expenditure in 1971 totals £1,273 million, made up as follows:

	£ million
European Agricultural Fund	1,096
Community administrative costs	62
Repayment to member states to cover costs of collecting levies and duties	56
Euratom research and investment	28
European Social Fund	23
Food Aid	8
	1,273

7. The reason for the high proportion spent on agricultural support is partly historical and partly because of the rôle which agriculture plays in the economies of the Six. In all the Community countries this is larger than in Britain and a larger proportion of their manpower work on the land. When the Community was set up it was felt necessary not only to provide opportunities for Community countries to progressively removing the tariff barriers within the Community, but also to provide a common policy in the field of agriculture which was politically and economically so important for each of the Six.

8. As the Community develops there will be other purposes for which Community funds will be spent, such as technological, industrial and regional policies, from which, unlike agriculture, Britain could expect to receive back money commensurate with her contribution to the Community's budget.

ANNEX B

Solutions agreed for the tariff treatment of industrial materials

1. For woodpulp and lead bullion (both key materials for industrial processing in the United Kingdom) the CET will either be completely suspended or equivalent arrangements made so that we are assured continuing duty-free access to these products even beyond the end of the transitional period.

2. For newsprint we shall share in a Community duty-free quota up to the full extent of needs not covered by domestic production. This means that our newspaper publishers will be able to buy the balance of their requirements duty free from the sources they choose including both Canada and Scandinavia. Agreement was also reached on widening the definition of newsprint to include lighter weight newsprint; otherwise some of our newspaper publishers who use this type of newsprint would have had to pay a CET of 12 per cent.

3. For phosphorus it has been agreed that we shall not start to apply the CET even at a reduced rate until 1977 and that it would be open to us then to apply for either suspension of the tariff or duty-free quotas.

4. For alumina it has been agreed that the CET would be suspended from its current level of 8.8 per cent to 5.5 per cent. Imports of alumina into the United Kingdom would be free of duty until 1 January 1976, would as from that date pay half the suspended rate, and would from 1 July 1977 pay the full 5.5 per cent rate. But it has been recognised that in the particular circumstances of the aluminium industry we should be able at any time after entry

to apply in advance for a duty-free Community tariff quota for the period after 1 January 1978.

5. The remaining products on our list fall into two groups. For plywood, arrangements have been made, including a duty-free quota for certain specialised types of coniferous plywood which should continue to allow in most of our imports duty free. And for the wattle-extract used by our tanners the CET will be cut by two thirds, down to 3 per cent. These arrangements for plywood and wattle extract are not limited to the transitional period.

6. For the remaining products, silicon carbide, ferrochrome, ferro silicon, refined lead and zinc and aluminium it was established that we should be able to secure all or nearly all our needs duty free either from increased United Kingdom production or from other suppliers in the enlarged Community. And in the case of lead and zinc we shall be participating in existing Community tariff quotas which it has been agreed to adjust to take account of enlargement. Moreover, in the case of certain of these products it has been agreed specifically that if the supply position were to change it would be open to us to apply for duty quotas.

ANNEX C

Arrangements for parliamentary consideration of the question of British accession to the European Communities

(Text of a statement made by the Prime Minister, the right hon. Edward Heath, MP, to the House of Commons on June 17, 1971.)

"With your permission, Mr. Speaker, and that of the House, I should like to make a statement on how the Government see the arrangements for parliamentary consideration of the question of British accession to the European Communities.

"It may be helpful if I begin by setting out the stages which must be completed before we can become a member of the Communities. We have first to resolve the major issues outstanding in the negotiations. Second, Parliament should be invited to take a decision of principle on whether the arrangements so negotiated are satisfactory and whether we should proceed to join the Communities. If that be agreed, we have, third, to resolve the remaining issues in the negotiations. Fourth, a treaty of accession has to be prepared and signed. Fifth, legislation to give effect to that treaty has to be drafted, considered by Parliament and enacted. Finally, we and the other parties to the treaty have to deposit instruments of ratification of the treaty.

"As to the first of these stages, we hope that it will be possible to resolve the major issues outstanding in the negotiations by the end of this month. As soon as possible thereafter the Government will publish a White Paper setting out in detail the arrangements that have been agreed and the Government's conclusions on whether they constitute a satisfactory basis for joining the Communities.

"The timing of subsequent stages depends upon striking a balance between a number of conflicting considerations. On the one hand, uncertainty will persist until Parliament has taken its decision. We owe it to our partners in the negotiations, to our fellow-applicants for membership, whose decisions will to some extent depend on ours, and to ourselves, to resolve this uncertainty as soon as we can. Moreover, the marketing and investment planning of British industry, and future planning in many other sectors of our national life, are vitally dependent on the decision. It is right that all concerned should know as soon as possible where they stand.

"On the other hand, the Government have always acknowledged the need for the whole question to be fully considered and discussed by Parliament and by the public before Parliament is asked to take the decision of principle on it. Although it is true that the main arguments for and against joining the Communities have been set out in the public since the first application for membership ten years ago, it is right that we should take time to consider them in the light of the outcome of my right hon. and learned friend's negotiations in Brussels and Luxembourg. The timetable which the Government propose, therefore, is as follows:

"The House will be invited to debate the White Paper before the start of the Summer Recess. The detailed arrangements for this debate will be discussed through the usual channels. The Government envisage that it should be an expository and exploratory debate, on a motion which does not invite the House to take the decision of principle at the end of this debate, though we must, of course, reserve our freedom of action in the event of any substantive Amendment to such a Motion.

"Then, when Parliament meets again after the Recess, there will be a second debate, at the conclusion of which the House will be asked to decide in principle whether Britain should join the European Communities.

"In the meantime, our delegation in Brussels will continue to negotiate on such issues as still remain outstanding. The aim will be to carry forward these negotiations and work on drafting a treaty of accession so that, if Parliament decides in the autumn that Britain should join the Communities, the treaty of accession can be signed by the end of this year.

"This would allow the whole of 1972 to complete what would require to be done before our accession. In Parliamentary terms, this would mean that Parliament would be invited to consider and to pass the constitutional legislation, which would be substantial, by the end of the Session 1971-2. Thereafter the instrument of ratification of the treaty of accession would be deposited, in time for our accession to the Communities to be effective from January 1, 1973."

● The United Kingdom and the European Communities. Cmd. 3715. Stationery Office, 25p net.

140. Duties on most industrial materials are zero in both the United Kingdom tariff and the CET of the

PETER JENKINS

Europe or the deluge

THE White Paper expounds the case for joining the Common Market. It is an essay in propaganda. The case is reasoned but not intended to be judicious: the advantages of membership and the penalties of exclusion are asserted with partiality and commitment. It attempts to soothe popular anxieties about food prices and sovereignty but it gives no quarter to the professional opponents of Britain in Europe. It is evidently not intended by the Cabinet to serve as Order Paper for the Great Debate but rather as a manifesto.

The anti's will regard it as an excellently provocative document. It is bound to excite the political alarm bells. The Prime Minister and the Cabinet must know it means that the House of Commons later this month will be asked to take notice of a balanced statement of the pros and cons but of declaration of the Government's faith and intent.

Indeed, the tone of the White Paper adds to the suspicion that a political decision could not be taken in the future. It is to say given the case to put the whips under the matter this summer after all.

The terms so long awaited and for so long employed as an excuse for postponing decision and even debate, may only a supporting role in the White Paper. They are not clearly, but not in detail, and are not to be satisfactory. They will add to nobody's knowledge. The chief purpose of the White Paper, now at the terms of transition have been settled, is to argue broadly political and economic case for membership of the Community. For the first time in ten years a British Government's in a position to argue not the case for seeking membership, but the case for not joining.

The most remarkable feature of the Government's presentation is the force of the negative case. A number of commentators, including myself, have been urged with increasing pessimism that the most compelling reason for risking membership of the European Community is that the risks of not joining are so much greater.

The White Paper is an extraordinary political document in that it was the entrance yet to fall, Mr Heath's government would be left without a convincing answer to the country's national line. In other words, the government itself has now for the first time told the people the truth, the truth which used to be called "self-Britain short."

It is not in quite the vocabulary which I lay but our national line is not disguised and prospects for an off-shore line are bleakly set out. The historical preamble of the White Paper recalls the "less than ideal" circumstances of the war and the subsequent emergence of a world for Super Powers.

observes that during 1950s the transformation of our position in the world was increasingly borne in upon us, in terms of economic problems at home and in the balance of payments, of the quickening move to interdependence among further colonies, and of a sense of diminishing influence in world councils.

The use of such familiarly unfavourable comparisons made between our economic performance and the performance of the Community members. The consumption per head of their citizens has grown faster than ours. But how many people realise that even in Italy, since 1960, average wages are higher than ours.

"If we remained outside the White Paper," we should have to maintain our national resources on a narrower base. No doubt we could do this: but the task of doing so would become progressively more difficult as European political and economic unity proceeded without us in a neighbouring Community several times our size.

Our narrower base would go on narrowing, the White Paper gloomily predicts. But inside the Community our trade and prosperity will grow faster than "would be possible if we remained outside." Finally, "in a single generation we should have renounced an imperial past and rejected a European future. Our power to influence the Communities would steadily diminish, while the Communities' power to affect our future would steadily increase."

It was this claustrophobic condition, the pressing-in of reality and the deepening gloom of the prognosis, which drove first Mr Harold Macmillan and then Mr Harold Wilson to seek escape into the only future available. Mr Heath's Government embarks with greater enthusiasm, and for the first time in the knowledge that the chosen future is available; but its point of departure is the same predicament.

Of course the White Paper sets out confidently and enthusiastically the positive case for British membership, the advantages for Europe, and the world. But for there to be now "a great debate" the argument must shift away from the marginal advantages and disadvantages in terms of benefit and cost to the choice between continuing as we are or trying something else.

What is called informed opinion has been debating the issue for ten years. The terms of transition and no number of White Papers are going to take that controversy much further. The debate now is between an insular public opinion preoccupied with good reason at this time, with rising prices and a Government which has declared its intention to leave the country outside the European Community.

The debate is no longer about should we or shouldn't we but about the determined intention of a elected Government, declared in this White Paper, to join the European Community. The consequences of joining have been discussed endlessly; now for the first time a Government is seeking to impress upon a disinterested public the consequences of not joining.

When the tax men arrived, they couldn't get in. Communication, the architects said, has broken down. Laying it on, you might say, with a trowel.

Learning aid

BOND: no grant

MORE SAVED against than saving? The Royal Court looks like having to abandon plans to take Edward Bond's twentieth century King Lear to the Belgrade Festival. The invitation came after Bond's "Saved" won first prize at the last Belgrade Festival. Mira Trajkovic, the festival's director, offered to put up most of the money for the trip.

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"It's a drop in the ocean," the Royal Court's manager, bricked up the entrance.

"I'm making money while the sun shines, mate. This place mightn't be the Hilton, but it's packed all summer long with tourists who pay what we ask. And that's all that matters." The man had described himself as the owner of the hotel, a 15-roomed converted Victorian family house between Paddington and Notting Hill Gate. It presented, as did so many of the other, virtually indistinguishable, hotels jammed into the heart of London's "medium-tourist" bedroom, a bold front and a brave name. Little else.

"The boom is really on in this city. We do not even have to advertise, yet we are packed out." He was chatting between £4 and £5 a night for small, single rooms ("but we will shove another bed in for an extra thirty bob").

A few streets away, another hotel, another "owner, manager, do bloody everything." No one was out to bid the tourists, he said. "We give them a bed and breakfast for between, say, £3 and £6 depending on the time of the year, how business is and so on. No we don't have individual baths or showers or night porters or car parks, or lifts, but we keep the place clean, and anyway, tourists only use hotels to sleep in and they are outside most of the time."

"We certainly do not have to bend over backwards to attract customers or to keep them. There is such a shortage of hotels in London that it really is a seller's market." Few people ever complained, he said, about the size of rooms or lack of baths ("Some of the Yanks mean a bit about no showers") and, that apart, "they really

can't afford to be too choosy, can they? I mean, there really is nowhere else for them to go in London. They find that out very quickly and have to take what is offered."

Those hotels, and those views, underlining the tourist crisis facing London and much of the country. The number of visitors is soaring, the number of hotel rooms is creeping upwards. Prices are flying high, guest turnover is fast, and as the English Tourist Board said yesterday, even if tourists had the time to make complaints and were able to discover to whom a complaint should be made, "there is really nothing of an effective nature that can be done about a hotel. The ball is in the other court, I'm afraid."

Tourism is currently our fourth biggest money-spinner. Last year almost 64 million visitors came to Britain, and 55 per cent of them spent most, if not all of their holiday in London.

In recent months, London hotels have come under increasing fire from the tourists and from various sources. British tourism officials. The tourists say the hotels are far too expensive, the officials warn we could be in danger of killing the goose by extracting too many golden eggs for so little in return.

It has proven impossible to gather any official statistics of how hotel prices have increased in recent years, but £2, £4, and even £5 increases on medium and lower class tariffs during the past three and four years are all too

The Consumers' Association today attacks the failure to provide accommodation for the millions of young tourists expected in Britain this year. Many will end up sleeping on benches in railway stations, in parks, and in doorways. A CA survey reveals that no accommodation has been purpose-built for the youngsters; most existing hotels are far too expensive—"and anyone who pays a low price may be unhappily surprised by what goes with it."

The survey highlights Britain's accommodation crisis. PETER HARVEY investigates.

Holiday for groans

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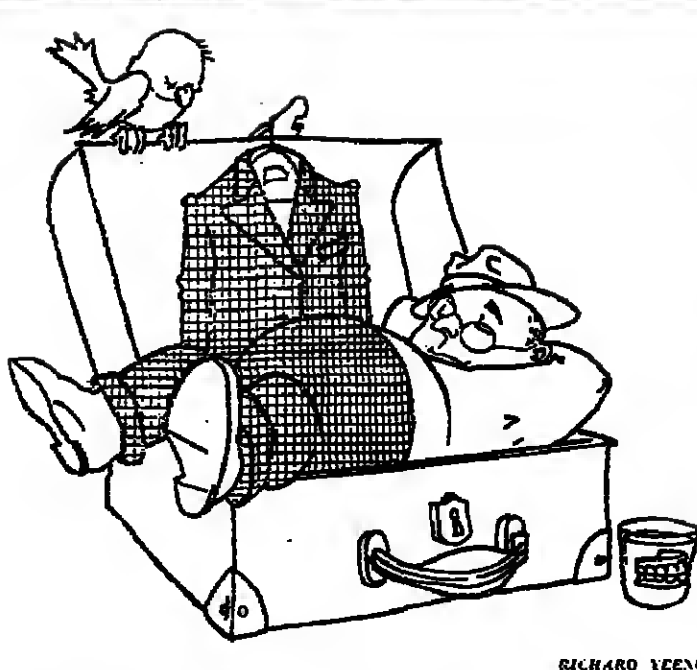
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common, according to regular foreign visitors and hoteliers. Hotels, in short, can and do charge what they like, whether or not the facilities and services offered match, even remotely, the tariff. In spite of denials from the British Hotels and Restaurants Association there is no doubting that, service for service and class for class, London hotels are more expensive than their Continental counterparts.

During the past few days, Guardian reporters have interviewed tourists in London from France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, the United States, and Italy. The majority were "low to middle" visitors: "low to middle" means an average of £3 to £4 each night for a hotel, and expecting at least one meal



RICHARD YEATES

and a shower with their room. Most said they had been disappointed. "Three years ago I stayed in a Baywater hotel for £3 a night. This time they said £5 was the lowest and I would have to pay another 50p a day for breakfast," a German factory worker told me. "And these places are not proper hotels, they are old houses upon which work has been done. No bar, no place for the car. And all the places in my price range were like that. The proper hotels were much more expensive."

Tourist authorities are aware of the problem, and their view of the future is dark indeed, unless, as the London Tourist Board said, "We start moving now to clamp classification and registration on all hotels."

Apart from advertiser-

sponsored guides, there is no such system in existence in this country. But it is common in Europe for tourist authorities to grade and classify hotels and inns, and to be excluded from the official guide for not meeting the basic standards required by the central authority. Exclusion can spell bankruptcy for a hotel.

The English Tourist Board told me the machinery for classification and registration, a system "certain to control prices and ensure good standards," exists under the Development of Tourism Act of 1968. But until the Government activates the relevant sections, the system "cannot even go through the pilot study phase."

Air Raymond Ward of the ETB said it was hoped that "activation" would come later this year... "but it will still be two years before the system can begin to take effect."

The ETB says the system is "objective rather than subjective. We will not be interested in whether or not the waiters are nice. We will grade and classify hotels on the important things—their high and low charges; whether or not they have car parks, air conditioning, lifts, porters, bathrooms, showers, etc. We will expect hotels to display their charges on the back of every door and our inspectors will be continually on the move, checking and re-checking the standards we set for each and every category."

The ETB believes their hoped-for system of grading and registration will not only help the tourist to find a hotel he can afford, but force hotels to improve their standards. "If they don't, they will be dropped from the registers. Simple as that."



Colonel Castleberry

In search of superpup

Adam Raphael in Maryland: Wednesday

sounds a promising theory which could well be extended to humans, but the day of my visit two of the pups so enjoyed the merry-go-round that they fell asleep mid-way through their ride and had to be woken up afterwards. Still they didn't like the freezer, so perhaps their characters won't be ruined.

Psychology plays a big part in a dog's life at Edgewood. From the military ward, where soothing pop music lulls mothers-to-be into properly relaxed states, to the outside kennels, where giant loudspeakers roar out sounds of battle, attention is paid to small details. From the eighth week, the puppies are put through a series of intelligence and temperament tests.

Some are as old fashioned and simple as noting how a puppy plays with a ball or reacts to a piece of waved rag. The puppy that grabs the rag and holds it with his mouth, it's that dog with promise," said the Colonel. Other tests are more fiendish, ranging from a maze, which the puppy has to escape from, to a miniature "torture" chamber equipped with one-way mirrors in which the puppy is confronted by a whirling red dervish and other strange objects. The puppies who flunk out on these tests generally sit down in a corner, sob a bit to themselves, and have a quiet pee.

By the end of the 14th

week, the Superdog examiners have a good idea of which of the puppies they want to keep for advanced obedience testing and possible breeding. Those who are cashiered are either sold, posted to other Army units, or sent to hospitals for medical research.

"Temperament is the big problem," says Colonel Castleberry. "We are looking for bold, outgoing, self-confident dogs. We don't want dogs that are fearful, slinky, apathetic, that snap at you when you're not looking, or that are out and out vicious. A puppy that runs right out and greets you, that's a damn good puppy."

In Vietnam, where there have been more than 3,000 canine casualties, alsatians have been trained for many tasks, ranging from patrolling to locating booby traps and land mines. In the US they are now extensively used by the Narcotics Bureau to sniff out heroin and marijuana.

"This is a superb idea, one with tremendous potential," enthuses the Colonel about his breeding programme. "Scientists have shown that by breeding selectively, you can get more milk from cows, more wool from sheep, more beef from cattle. In the tenth generation, 10 years from now, yes Sir, that's going to have a superdog."

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MISCELLANY

side track

XCA has just issued a pop ad called "You've Got to Get on." No mention of the dread Market, but the sage is clear enough. Put past behind us, forward the future, etc., etc.

's been recorded by a up called Unity, with full highly professional backing (sweeping strings and a le orchestra). BBC radio it an ailing yesterday, ch was fair and topical igh. But what happens if it takes the hit parade? How n can it be played on to One without infringing inflexible laws of political nec?

re corporation hierarchs troubled enough by ges of pro-Market bias, are cleaving the line since all three major parties are formally united on ish entry they are in the r. Give it a week, gentle-

ix wall

VALUE-ADDED forestate. National Association of gian Architects has been in arms for weeks about Government decision to a value-added tax on their ices. The tax, a Common ket standard, was intro- duced in Belgium last uary. Now the architects a been told that they must 18 per cent to their bills, sing on the extra to the mite.

When the tax men arrived, they couldn't get in. Communication, the architects said, has broken down. Laying it on, you might say, with a trowel.

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Helen Montagu, says, "Or are they worried about the violence in 'Lear'? After all, Bond's 'Lear' is really an anti-Communist play, so it can hardly be that."

THE COUNCIL OF Citizens Advice Bureaux, shocked by the sacking of its secretary, Joan Pridmore, by its parent body, and the resignation of its chairman, Sir Harold Bond, has decided to try negotiating the rift. It has passed a motion deploring the circumstances of the sacking, but will try to negotiate with the National Council of Social Service. To this end the office bureaux have appointed a new chairman. And who better than John Willis, a former training officer with the National Marriage Guidance Council?

Polytechnique

A FORTNIGHT ago in Eastbourne Margaret Thatcher was saying that the next stage of the poly and further education building programme would be announced very soon. This still appears to be the position, which is interesting poly-waterbata more than some wbat because the announcement is already several weeks overdue.

The best guess is that a battle royal is going on between Mrs T and those dragons of the Treasury she got so badly at the time of the Barber cuts. This time there are two issues: the size of poly expansion in the present decade and the building standards on which the operation is to be mounted.

Apparently, individual polys blandly reported last autumn that they could double, may even treble, their numbers by 1981. But how is it to be done? As for building standards, Ted Short insisted, towards the end of the Labour Administration that f per

square foot building allocations should in future be the same for polys, universities, and colleges of education. Is this still the case?

Capitalist gain

ONASSIS: goldmine

THE MIAN most likely to gain most out of the £6-7 millions that the Northern Ireland Government is pumping into Harland and Wolff's shipyard is Aristotle Onassis. Who is also the man least likely to need the money.

It works this way. By not buying the whole H and W equity for £125 million—as it could have done—the Northern Ireland Government has left existing shareholders sitting on a goldmine. When, thanks to all that public money, Harland and Wolff burst through to prosperity, the existing shareholders can expect a handsome capital gain.

The biggest single slice, the Northern Ireland Ministers now admit, will be Aristotle's. It wouldn't have been possible to prevent this without buying him out. But that would have been nationalisation, and that would never do.

The Garden trap

by John Eard

A NEW hit show opened yesterday in Charing Cross Road, next door to the Garrick Theatre, which is staging "Somebody Upstairs Loves Me," and almost opposite a cinema screening "Love Me Love My Wife."

It may well outrun both of them, although a deep, quickly suppressed yawn was audible in the packed public gallery within 15 minutes of its curtain up at the unswinging hour of 10.30 a.m. For the show is the public inquiry into the Greater London Council's disputed £140 million plan to redevelop 98 acres of Covent Garden.

The 10th objector—the Civic Trust—closed in yesterday. The inquiry is already confidently booking witnesses for early August. When the Department of the Environment Inspector, Mr C. Hilton, discussed the timetable for the GLC's closing speech, he made it sound a prospect as long term as the closing of "The Mousetrap" at the Ambassador's, 40 yards away. At Cavell House, the dialogue was spoken with the annexes of the inquiry, a half-century-old market which has been

described as the theatre of circumlocution. Instead of facts being mentioned, matters are "had regard to." When I went to kick counsel for the tech, you "postulate an alternative hypothesis."

Both these lines are taken from the prepared opening speech of Mr John Taylor, the GLC's chief counsel. By afternoon, Mr Taylor was well dug into a performance likely to take longer than a solo rendering of Wagner's "Ring."

A young but seasoned artist, he included the occasional shock effect. "Disastrous" and "uncontrollable," he said of the prospects if the Garden's redevelopment is left to naked market forces when the market moves to Battersea in 1973. Evening newspaper reporters jumped awake and ran out with their headlines for the day. With them came Mr Taylor continued in quieter key and five minutes later the first yawn came.

Mr Taylor contended that the GLC was elaborating a scenario laid down when Parliament agreed to more the 300-year-old market which was opened by the Earl of Bedford.

Without a comprehensive development plan, the move would trigger off applications from speculative developers who would want to provide lucrative offices, shops, and hotels but not low-cost housing, schools, cultural amenities, pedestrian precincts or open spaces.

The GLC, which wants to provide all these things as well as preserving historic buildings, was acting as a responsible midwife to change in an area now "at a low ebb."

Half of its buildings were more than 50 years old and many of the 1,600 private homes whose occupants do not want to move) lacked sunlight or any recreational provisions.

Mr Taylor took almost 10 minutes merely to read the names of future GLC witnesses, giving the Inspector all the Christian names of the three foreign firm tourists fled from the public gallery. By that stage, they had not even heard details of what the plan envisaged. But they had perhaps gained an insight into the rituals by which England takes the beat out of its civic conflicts.

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Black is bleak

Robert Maynard in Minneapolis: Wednesday

BLACK Americans, although still languishing at the lower end of the American economic ladder, made some progress in the last decade and can be expected to do even better in the present one. But the immediate outlook is bleak. Andrew F. Brimmer, the only black member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve Board, provided the following: Blacks during the decade of the 1960s were 11 per cent of the population, but their share in the employment gains of the decade accounted for 12 per cent, even though they began the decade holding a little more

status of blacks in the economy, urged the setting up of wage and price controls to curb inflation and public service spending to stem the tide of unemployment. He said those measures would aid blacks as well as whites in this period of inflation and recession. Brimmer said his most recent study of blacks in the economy turned up the following: Blacks during the decade of the 1960s were 11 per cent of the population, but their share in the employment gains of the decade accounted for 12 per cent, even though they began the decade holding a little more

than 10 per cent of the jobs. Blacks left low-paying jobs on the farm and in households at a rate between two and three times faster than their white counterparts during the last decade. "While non-whites made substantial progress during the 1960s in obtaining clerical and sales jobs, and also registered noticeable gains as craftsmen," Brimmer said, "their occupational centre of gravity remained anchored in these positions requiring little skill and offering few opportunities for further advancement." — Washington Post.

Ticket and see

by David Fairhall

DISCOUNT Travel Services, the Chelsea firm which claims to have found a legal loophole in the Government regulations controlling cheap package tour holiday flights, was unrepentant yesterday as it tried to cope with continuing flood of inquiries. Its front office amongst the Kings Road boutiques, advertising "Today's Special—Miami £99 return," was closed for the afternoon while the staff tried to catch up with a backlog of 400 bookings.

A major reason for the backlog is that Sunair Holidays, which admits an "inadvertent infringement" of the regulations by carrying a Discount Travel Services customer to Rimini, was not really on a package tour. It stopped all dealings with the Chelsea firm. The passenger was referred to Sunair as the advertising representative of a travel firm with urgent business on the Adriatic coast and out from Gatwick Airport-London. But he turned out to be a journalist employed by the "Evening Standard" and wrote his story in yesterday's edition.

While BEA Airtours and Sunair waited to see whether the Air Transport Licensing Board would consider revoking their licence to serve Rimini, and whether the Department of Trade and Industry would prosecute for infringement of the terms of the licence, DTS's general manager, Jonathan Smith, dismissed the incident as an unfortunate exception which would not affect the basis of his normal business. In fact, he claims, his customers are sent off as legitimate package tour holidaymakers. The key to his cheap flights—Rome £42 return, New York £79 return, Hong Kong £169 return—is that he never actually charges for the hotel accommodation.

The Government regulations allow charter operators to offer the complete package, transport and hotel, for the same rate as the ordinary scheduled air fare. The firm takes the money for the charter fare, but gives passengers an invoice for the hotel voucher that goes with the air ticket. And this is one bill they never have to pay.

The hotel voucher, he insists, is perfectly genuine. "It'll be for some pension in the back of beyond, riddled with holes, but it won't be comfortable, but they could stay there." He is not concerned about the standard of the accommodation because his customers have no intention of staying there. The voucher is provided as a perfectly legal device for charging less than the scheduled airline fare.

"Everybody's done it for years: only crime is to open a shop and bring it out into the open."

But Mr Smith is only too ready to admit that other dodges may not be strictly legal and he considers their existence as further justification for his own operation. "I don't believe there's a single charter flight leaving this country—or very few—that's absolutely legal."

One of the most ingenious schemes—which Mr Smith described with a bit of implication—is known in the trade as "Revolutions." In order to take advantage of cheap fares available to a student, the passenger is accompanied to the airport by a shop who looks the seat and then hands over the anonymous boarding pass. The fee for this service is £5.50, of which £4 goes to the genuine student and £1.50 to the agent who arranges the deal.



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Edited by Anthony Harris and Charles Raw



Industry holds to its wait-and-see stance on Market entry

By OUR INDUSTRIAL STAFF

The Confederation of British Industry yesterday welcomed the terms for entry into the Common Market, but warned that the benefits were not automatic: it emphasised that it was up to industry to seize the opportunity.

It is clear that industry, in the light of past disappointments, is biding its time until the Parliamentary vote has been taken. There are no signs yet of a revival of capital investment which is going through a pronounced cyclical downswing.

A number of companies which have been making optimistic noises in public about the new opportunities are being more reserved in private. There is certainly little sign of big contingency plans being drawn up—though it is admitted that things could change suddenly once a definite decision to go in has been made.

The first reaction to the White Paper terms was mixed. Many businessmen were unwilling to commit to the precise terms until they had had time to mull them over, although a surprising number of top executives already had the paper in

front of them for study yesterday afternoon.

British Petroleum, while in favour of entry because it will benefit from the increased size of the market, is not planning any projects which would not have been started anyway. The effects of entry were "extremely marginal" to an oil company like BP which was already inside the Common Market already, an official said.

A similar reaction came yesterday from Sir John Wall, chairman of International Computers, who said that the removal of tariffs would bring a small home market. The CBI, however, was more willing to consider "something nearly approaching a European computer industry."

ICL has been canvassing this for some time—so far without finding a great deal of enthusiasm.

However, these comments were not typical of business generally which is looking forward to the prospect of escaping from the constrictions of a small home market. The CBI's smaller firms' Council announced yesterday, for the first time, that a majority of its members were in favour of entry.

Sir Richard Young, chairman of Alfred Herbert, Britain's biggest machine tool firm, which is going through a tough period, said entry would benefit his industry because British engineering firms would have wider opportunities for re-equipping with capital machinery to exploit the bigger market. "This was less likely to happen if Britain was excluded," he said.

British Leyland reaffirmed its desire to go into Europe yesterday. The group, which is Britain's biggest exporter, is planning to double its sales to Europe to 500,000 cars by 1973. A spokesman said they could

never achieve this outside the Common Market.

The chemical industry has already been forced to think multinationally and most big companies have thought in European terms for at least the past decade. ICI makes £70 millions worth of goods in the EEC.

The industry has long declared itself in favour of entry, although a recent report by the Atlantic Study Group sought to prove that the giant European chemical companies would in fact gain more than British ones.

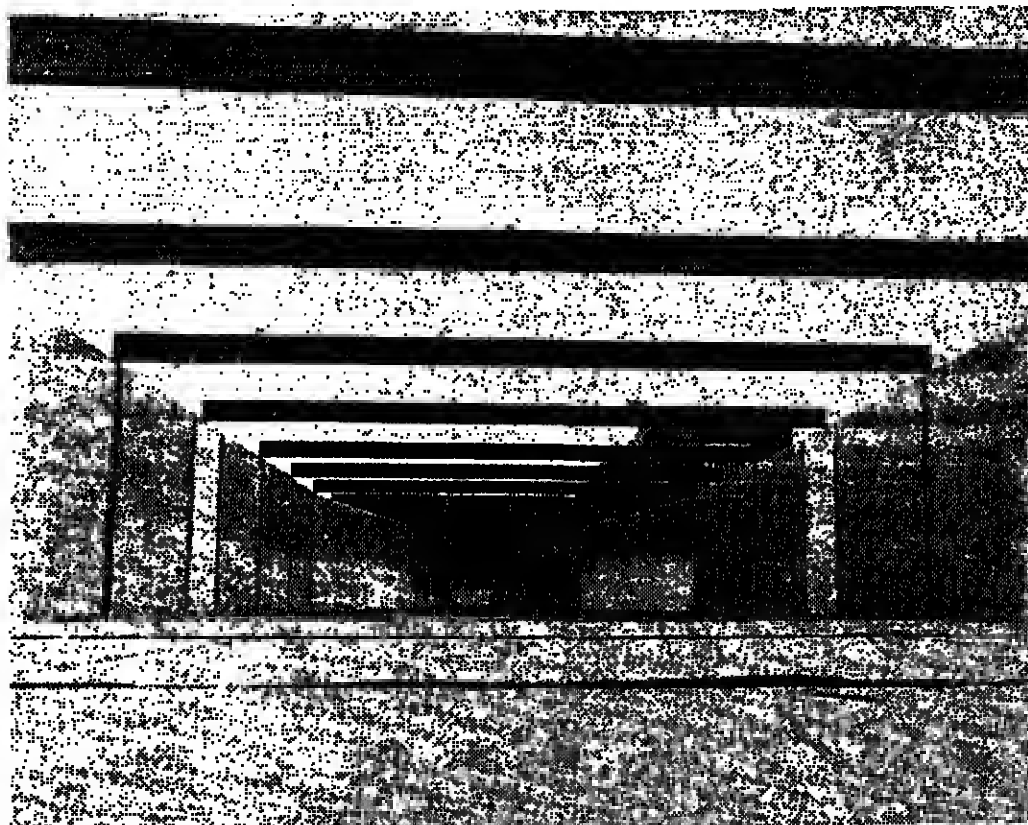
ICI's chairman, Mr Jack Callard, has reaffirmed his support for entry. He said that tariff barrier removal was not the most important change. Major UK customers of the company would prosper under the stimulus of membership—and if that happened he expected a greater volume of UK trade in supplying them.

The CBI has brought forward its next council meeting so that the White Paper can be discussed ahead of the Commons debate. It will be held next Thursday instead of the following week, and the August council meeting will also discuss the Common Market.

The prospect of Common Market entry is unlikely to increase activity in the textile industry, though opinion is generally favourable.

"We will lose in some directions but by and large we should gain," a Textile Council official commented. There is unlikely to be a rush to put up new mills in Yorkshire—a wool industry official said that companies had already been investing in the Common Market in mind.

Yorkshire is already selling well in Europe in spite of existing tariff barriers. "It isn't going to open new markets. But it will be opening the door wider to existing markets," he explained.



This long, raw sewage channel at the West Hertfordshire Main Drainage Authority, near Rickmansworth, is constructed of reinforced fibre composite sections made by BTR Reinforced Plastics of Uxbridge, Middlesex. The maintenance-free, modular panels are being increasingly used in the construction of tanks and channels for water, oil, effluent, and chemical storage and handling

New stock disappoints market

By TOM TICKELL

THE MARKET was rather disappointed by the Treasury announcement of the new £400 millions long-term tap-stock. It is issuing at £95 with an interest rate of 8½ per cent yesterday. First suggestions were that the new stock was only half a point above the price that the Government broker last announced. Later it appeared that on a running yield basis it was 2½ points up, which is the most brokers feel could be expected at the moment. One broker forecast that after some initial reluctance the market would come in.

One of the other disappointments was that the stock does not mature until 1977, for many dealers had hoped for a medium-term issue which would mature in 1974 or 1975. But the new stock will replace an earlier long-term £400 millions tap-stock issued on much the same terms, which was completely exhausted yesterday. Even so, the market has been concentrated in the short end of the market where the tap stocks could be exhausted in the very near future.

Warner to buy Vista Tours

Warner Holidays is to expand into the package-tour market by buying Vista Tours for £100,000. Vista offers middle-price holidays, which it sells through retail travel agents. Warner's, best known for their UK holiday camps, recently opened an hotel in Majorca.

Major Rhodesian nickel strike

By LINDSAY VINCENT

Johannesburg Consolidated Investments last night confirmed it had made a major nickel strike in Rhodesia but once again the "bigger than Poseidon" analogy has proved dangerous.

Reports from Salisbury and South Africa last week suggested that the JCI mine would be producing 18,500 tons of nickel a year from an annual ore throughput of 1.5 million tons. Instead, initial production will be 4,500 tons from a treatment of 720,000 tons. For the record, Poseidon will be treating 1.2 million tons a year and its grade is much higher than that at Shangani, location of the JCI strike.

It was these rather optimistic reports, and the Poseidon analogies which prompted JCI into making its announcement—and in doing so it became the first company to announce openly an important mining discovery since Rhodesia's UDI.

Not even Rio Tinto Zinc has gone this far. The company, Britain's biggest mining group, confesses to know nothing about its Rhodesian operations beyond what it reads in the South African and Rhodesian press. So given this course of events, RTZ shareholders will be encouraged to learn that they, too, have a major nickel mine in Rhodesia and one of similar proportions to that of JCI.

The forthcoming 1971 publication of the authoritative Mining Annual Review claims that Empress Mines, wholly owned by RTZ's non-aligned Rhodesian subsidiary, will be treating 720,000 tons of ore a year and the average grade is 1.31 per cent. Production will be expanded when a second property is brought in in the second quarter of 1972.

The JCI announcement, estimated cost of bringing the mine and smelter into production is roughly £10 millions. JCI will have partners in the venture, presumably from the related Anglo-American empire and trial mining operations will commence in 1973.

US firm's 'float' licence

Pilkington Brothers, the St Helens glass manufacturers, has licensed a sixth American company to use its float process. The latest deal has been negotiated with ASG Industries of Kingsport, Tennessee, who are manufacturers of a wide range of glass products.

There are now a total of 18 licensees for the process which has revolutionised flat glass manufacture. Around £300 millions has been invested in the Pilkington process at 33 plants in eleven countries.

Pilkingtons has always been shy about releasing details of its licensing agreements, although its recent annual report revealed that the company received £8½ millions in licensing income last year from the process and a royalty on the amount produced.

The next float plant to come into operation will be at Pilkington's base in St Helens later this year.

Trafalgar deny ultimatum

TRAFALGAR HOUSE Investments last night denied reports that Cunard had been given 24 hours to reach a decision on Trafalgar's £24 millions takeover offer. However, Trafalgar said: "A decision is going to have to be taken pretty soon."

The merchant banks advising both sides held discussions yesterday, but details of the offer are still being kept secret.

One of Cunard's largest individual shareholders, former director Mr Donald Forrester, said he would not be accepting Trafalgar's offer. He thinks 185p a share is unfair, and would prefer at least 250p.

Secret Bonn summit deal suspected

By ROBERT PRINSKY

European Economic Community experts in Brussels believe that President Pompidou and Chancellor Brandt may have reached an understanding on monetary matters in their summit meeting that ended on Tuesday, in spite of official denials.

Any assurances of a date when Bonn will unfasten the D-mark and of French support for wider exchange margins could have been given secretly only at the highest level it is agreed. Otherwise speculation could profit and the two leaders would openly be ignoring EEC machinery for joint decisions.

"One objective of these things is to mystify everyone," said an expert. "Whether that is what happened, I don't know. There isn't any indication of it in the official statements."

Nevertheless he agreed with suggestions that if President Pompidou did promise French support for wider exchange margins, the return of the mark to fixed parity could come before the September meeting of the International Monetary Fund, which could decide formally on wider margins.

It is forecast that the new parity will be a higher one, perhaps near the current floating level of 3.50 marks to the dollar.

There is some basis for believing revaluation will come in August, normally a quiet month. France caught speculation completely off balance with its August devaluation two years ago.

Also in August, speculators who purchased marks in May for three-month delivery may decide to renew their contracts, on the expectation of an even greater revaluation, foreign exchange dealers said.

Exchange markets expect AP-Dow Jones.

Lebanon asks for Syrian oil terms

By PETER HILLMORE

Lebanon yesterday followed Syria and demanded a 50 per cent increase in oil revenue from the Western-owned Iraq Petroleum Company. The company has a pipeline which carries crude oil from Iraq to Syrian and Lebanese ports on the Mediterranean.

President Salim of Lebanon said in Beirut yesterday that the Lebanese decision to seek an increase in its transit royalties was based on the agreement signed on Tuesday which gave Syria an £11 million increase in transit royalties. Lebanese royalties from IPC currently total around £4 million a year.

Another pipeline project to carry oil from Iran to Turkish Mediterranean ports is dormant, awaiting a decision by the Shah of Iran.

The Turkish Foreign Minister visited Iran at the end of last month, hoping to persuade the Shah to revive the project. Preliminary agreement had been reached in 1969, but the two countries were not able to get a usage guarantee of 50 million Arab countries.

But the Shah hinted that he was ready to take "whatever steps are necessary" to help the project. Which was taken to mean that he would attempt to pressurise the Iranian oil consortium.

However, he has apparently cooled on the project, perhaps because of renewed hope that the Suez Canal might be opened. The recent political instability in Turkey, which led to the deposing of Suleyman Demirel, might have contributed.

The pipeline would be an advantage to Iran because, along with relatively inexpensive transport costs—compared with shipping it round the Cape—it would mean guaranteed access for its oil to Europe, bypassing Arab countries.

Hospital contract

Derek Crouch Construction of Birtley, Co. Durham, a member of the Derek Crouch group of Peterborough, has been awarded a contract worth £1.7 millions to carry out the first phase of a £7 millions hospital development plan at Carlisle.

Work, to begin immediately at the Cumberland Royal Infirmary, includes an intensive care unit, operating theatre, central kitchen, dining room, and ward with 234 beds.

S and U profit up

Pre-tax profit of S and U Stores, the Birmingham retailing and mail order group, totalled £274,000 for the 10 months ended January, against £256,000 for the previous year. On a comparable basis, the directors say, profits were running 6 per cent ahead and would have totalled more than £300,000 for the full year.

The board is to pay a final dividend of 5 per cent making 10 per cent for the period

CITY COMMENT

FODENS

Profit with a grain of salt

AFTER missing its target by £200,000, Fodens saw its share rise by 4p yesterday, which shows that the stock market is viewing its setbacks made during takeovers in their true perspective. The trouble is the euphoric pronouncement made during the unsuccessful struggle for Aston-Lovells which still detracts from what has after all been a very good year.

The turnover appears to have risen by about 13 per cent to more than £14.5 millions while profits are up by 20 per cent to £1,255,000. Nevertheless, the present low standing of the shares is due to what the directors describe as "a rapid deterioration in trading conditions during the latter half of the accounting year," and a "higher inflation rate than was forecast."

These inevitable problems have been compounded by the Government's failure to produce a new set of regulations for vehicles which has naturally left supplier and buyer alike with no basis on which to plan. When the regulations finally appear later this month it should produce a surge in orders, but the company will still be left with the problem of a low rate of basic demand, particularly in the construction industry which accounts for about 40 per cent of its turnover and probably a bigger slice of profits.

Even so, the market seems to be taking an unnecessarily harsh view of prospects, with shares at 122½ on a price-earnings ratio of only 6.9. With the Common Market looming ahead, Fodens needs to work on a broader base and a share ratings will not help if it is still bent on growth by acquisition. But perhaps the biggest obstacle it faces is that if it enters the takeover arena again, any profits forecast it makes, however cautious, will be treated with considerable scepticism.

TRIUMPH INVESTMENT

Growing from the outside

LOOKING AT the breakdown of Triumph Investment Trust's profit for 1970-1, it is impossible to ignore the lack of organic growth within the group. Acquisitions have contributed by far the largest proportion of Triumph's rise—profits from £2.1 millions to £3.5 millions.

Before tax and company overheads, for example, the Metal Scrap and By-Products acquisition chipped in around £350,000 to the profit of the Merchant Banking and Metal Trading sector of Triumph's business. Without this sum, even allowing for write-offs of £149,000 on the film financing venture, Triumph's banking profit would have been stagnant.

The same applies to investment profit, up £900,000. Resolute Insurance, also acquired during the year, produced around £1 million. Since Resolute only breaks even on underwriting, these profits show up under the investment category and appear to account for the whole of the rise. Incidentally, the board says the change

ings ratio of only 6.9. With the Common Market looming ahead, Fodens needs to work on a broader base and a share ratings will not help if it is still bent on growth by acquisition. But perhaps the biggest obstacle it faces is that if it enters the takeover arena again, any profits forecast it makes, however cautious, will be treated with considerable scepticism.

In his statement the chairman, Mr G. F. Whyte, does not dodge the apparent lack of organic growth.

He says that the rumours surrounding the departure from the company of Mr J. Delhousie, managing director of Triumph Insurance, had an adverse effect on profitability. Perhaps they did, but the fact remains that it was the insurance and insurance broking interests which were the only source of internal growth for the group, and rapid growth, too, with profit rising from £749,000 to £1.2 millions.

To be fair, he argues that of more fundamental importance is the simple fact that "the fruits of the attention paid to the development of each sector of the group cannot appear at regular annual intervals."

With the shares selling on a price-earnings multiple of 12.8 at 173p, however, the stock market is not expecting Triumph's branches to bear fruit every year.

WHITBREAD

After caution, modest cheer!

THE WHITBREAD forecast of a pre-tax profit of £15 millions at the time of the bid for Brickwoods was cautiously framed, which is as should be.

With the increase from 3.11p to 4.41p in earnings per share, cover goes up from 1.13 to 1.41 times.

Though the results are good there has been some slackening in growth since the board reported a 32 per cent profit rise at the half-way stage. In December, however, shareholders were warned that £2 millions in extra costs would take some of the zip out of second-half results.

Four months of increased selling prices and an improved performance by the managed houses have been helpful. Further benefits have flowed from rationalisation and improved use of assets. Given freedom from labour troubles the showpiece brewery at Luton will stiffen earnings power.

The preliminary statement does not give a turnover figure, but it is reasonable to assume that it was at least £220 millions in 1970-71, against £200 millions. Growth continues. Sales in April and May of the national brands like Mackeson, Tankard, Gold Label and Heineken have been good, but the poor June weather adversely affected trade.

The statement duly contained the brewers' traditional complaint about pressure from rising costs and margins. But a P/E of 16.3 at 72p for the "A" shares indicates a market view that the November price increases will offset that pressure for a while.

The inevitable question posed by the results is whether they are good enough to encourage the board to top the Grand Metropolitan Hotels' bid for Truman's. Whitbread officials were non-committal yesterday. "We are still keeping our options open," he said somewhat unoriginally.

The pound

	Closing Market Rates	Previous Closing Rates
N York	2.45 1/2-2.46 1/2	2.45 1/2-2.46 1/2
London	2.45 1/2-2.46 1/2	2.45 1/2-2.46 1/2
Frankfurt	2.45 1/2-2.46 1/2	2.45 1/2-2.46 1/2
Paris	2.45 1/2-2.46 1/2	2.45 1/2-2.46 1/2
Geneva	2.45 1/2-2.46 1/2	2.45 1/2-2.46 1/2
Basel	2.45 1/2-2.46 1/2	2.45 1/2-2.46 1/2
Brussels	2.45 1/2-2.46 1/2	2.45 1/2-2.46 1/2
Amsterdam	2.45 1/2-2.46 1/2	2.45 1/2-2.46 1/2
Stockholm	2.45 1/2-2.46 1/2	2.45 1/2-2.46 1/2
Copenhagen	2.45 1/2-2.46 1/2	2.45 1/2-2.46 1/2
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What the White Paper leaves unsaid

By Anthony Harris

The Common Market White Paper issued yesterday is a propaganda document, frankly and only, and that is its only reason for being. It is issued by the Government which wants to reassure the doubtful.

In my comments, then, I will concern myself only with how far economic case is made on main issues—those which are not, have said before, the terms of the White Paper, which will be a thoroughly satisfactory, and part II of the White Paper sets them out clearly, at matters in the long-term.

Two rests on two main issues. The first is the balance of payments. The second is the balance of trade. The first is the balance of payments. The second is the balance of trade. The first is the balance of payments. The second is the balance of trade.

The White Paper simply states that the balance of payments is in a state of equilibrium. It does not say that the balance of payments is in a state of equilibrium. It does not say that the balance of payments is in a state of equilibrium. It does not say that the balance of payments is in a state of equilibrium.

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that membership of a larger group is the right medicine for our particular economy; and I believe that in the right circumstances it will prove so. What sort of a case is made in the White Paper?

Really there are two central arguments: that the CBI is in favour, and that the existing members are convinced that membership has been to their benefit. Now these arguments should not be scorned. The experience of members is relevant—though it should be pointed out that only Germany has had to carry a large net budgetary burden such as we will assume. The opinion of the CBI is still more to the point, because the readiness is all: the response of British industry will determine whether membership will be a breakthrough or a catastrophe, and I would be very doubtful of going on if the CBI were opposed.

Evidence only of possible response

But the CBI's enthusiasm is evidence only of the possible response: the Government should really set out its own conclusions on the benefits.

This is hardly attempted: indeed there is no evidence in the White Paper that the Government has made extensive studies of its own. What happens in the answers? What appears in the White Paper is a fine piece of sheer middle, as when it is claimed that "the effect on the balance of payments... will be large and positive, as it has been for other members."

It is the effect on exports which has been large and positive; but so, since the growth has mainly been in intra-trade, has the effect on imports. The Six as a whole has had a strong balance of trade (until recently, that is) because some of this intra-trade displaced outside suppliers.

None of the members of the Six had to give up large preferential positions in the outside world, as we will have to do. It may well be that our loss of Commonwealth markets—beyond the long-term erosion which has been going on for years (but not recently)—will be less than the customs-union gains we will make inside the EEC.

The White Paper honestly states that this sum cannot be quantified. Fine, but this still ill with the "large and positive effect" foreseen in paragraph 45.

There is a good deal of

substantial margins, are vehicle parts.

Iron and steel: On the face of it the statistics show a very pessimistic view of the industry's competitive position, but the authors admit that there is so much conflicting evidence that a clear view does not emerge.

With this qualification, the products best placed from a relative point of view include rails, pig iron, tinplate, seamless tubes and wire. Products with the worst prospects include ferro-manganese and hydro-electric conduits. The survey says that the steel industry's performance in terms of exporting to third countries was "considerably worse" than was the case in terms of mutual UK-EEC trade.

Mechanical engineering: In this much maligned sector aircraft engines, internal combustion engines, and tractors emerge as the most promising. While machine tools, machinery for food processing, and mineral products, steam engines, typewriters, come off badly. Among those with middling prospects are construction and office machinery.

Although at best the mechanical engineering industry has a very good record of exports to third countries (aircraft

engines and tractors, for instance), there is a large batch of 12 items near the bottom which account for a lot of trade (ranging from harvesters to ball bearings) which are described as a "disturbing feature." The prospects for machine tools and typewriters look particularly gloomy.

Electrical engineering: This sector compares neither favourably nor unfavourably with the rest of manufacturing industry in Britain. Well placed items include control apparatus, telecommunications equipment and a host of tools, but gramophones, valves, tubes and medical apparatus come off badly. Among the products with only a dim prospect are power machinery and switchgear.

Miscellaneous: Elsewhere woollen and linen fabrics look good among textiles, while silk fabrics, bleached cotton yarn, and fabrics come off badly. In non-textile metals, unworked silver and platinum score, aluminium falls. Cowhide, furs and diamonds might benefit while plywood, fibreboard and footwear could lose out.

Britain and the Common Market: The effect of entry on the pattern of manufacturing production. S. S. Han and H. H. Liemer. Cambridge University Press, £1.20.

Freighters, thanks to the boom in freight rates and a shipbuilding subsidiary which managed to get its sums right in spite of cost inflation, is raising its dividend from 2.5125p to 4.375p.

Attributable profits for the year ended March have more than doubled from £1.75 millions to £3.55 millions.

waffle about "a larger home market" with little discussion of the fact that we are part of the larger home market of our compatriots (this comes out clearly enough in the discussion of European experience, but not of British prospects). Why hand easy debating points to your opponents?

And why is there nowhere a clear mention of one of the really important advantages of membership—that it means an end to stop-go, or a big step in that direction?

The point is that in a European home market a little local difficulty in Britain will not mean allowing the whole economy down. You can damp down local consumption and manufacturers turn to exports. Fiscal action to help the balance of payments does not have the same effect in slowing economic growth. In Germany, for example, every squeeze has resulted in a huge increase in exports to the rest of the "larger home market." That is something to go for.

To sum up this section, the dynamic argument is essential to the whole economic case for going in, but it is essentially an argument for taking risks (the risk that some of our industries will be wiped out by the competition, as the Italians wiped out much of the domestic appliance industry in France and Germany) to get the chance of higher rewards.

An open call to risk and opportunity—which is after all what Mr Heath is all about—would have made a more inspiring case than the parade of half-truths offered in its place. It would also have been a harder argument to oppose: the real reason for opposing entry, a belief that British industry is too sick to be exposed to competition, and such an argument is not easy to put over politically (though Mr Wilson may have a go).

But all of it is simply talk; and there is not a figure in sight. Now there is a figure to argue that the dynamic effects can be forecast accurately to ask for a little surplus; for the figuring can at least show which effects are important and which are not.

This work has, in fact, been done by Professor John Williamson, who has made perhaps the most impressive technical case for joining. He studied the possible effects of economies of scale, of specialisation, of internal competition in sharpening up British performance.

This last proved by far the most important in its potential

effects on growth—a fact which is confirmed in everyday City experience of company turn-round situations.

There is more potential locked up in mismanaged assets than is ever likely to be realised by huge-scale (our industry already huge-scale even by US standards) or by specialisation.

The process will be uncomfortable; the rewards can be enormous. The White Paper prefers to avoid facing the discomfort squarely and therefore makes an unconvincing case for the rewards.

If there is anything in the needlessly repeated theory that stop-go has had something to do with Britain's poor growth record—and I certainly believe that such a case can be made for the motor industry and other "heavy" consumer goods, the ability to switch effort is one of the best arguments for expecting dynamic benefits.

Good politics but bad economics

Those that are elaborated in the White Paper are also of some importance—a wider market for high technology (though there is little evidence that it is a tariff barrier that has held back the exports of computers and nuclear power stations, for example); there is also a streak of anti-Americanism ("together the west European nations can organise themselves to compete with the Americans") which is good politics, perhaps, but bad economics.

As I have explained, the White Paper gives no estimate of any change in the balance of payments which would result from changes in tariffs. For this reason the figure of £200 millions to £300 millions which I offered as an estimate.

Now this estimate has been circulating round Whitehall as a possible figure for the change in the non-agricultural trade balance, but this need not be so. Something has been brushed under the rug. For there are two possible causes for a loss of surplus after entry: either loss of markets which is not compensated by new ones, or loss of sales because of cost inflation.

The first would be a real loss, and would have to be counted as a cost; but the second is not. This arises because if there was any inflation as a result, say, of higher food prices, this would simply represent an attempt to escape the real loss (paying more to the farming sector) through bidding up money incomes. The result would be to "pay" for the food through lost

imports.

The White Paper does, on the other hand, go further than I did (or Jostling does) in suggesting that there might be a cost of £50M annually after the transition for the higher cost of food imports.

Add it all up, and you get £250M, or the balance of payments in the fifth year (White Paper figures) and £350M or a little more, according to taste, after the transition (basically Jostling on the budget and White Paper on imports).

This means simply that the balance of payments will be £50M worse as a result of entry than it might otherwise have been, exported growth inside the Market could make it fairly possible to find such a surplus by moderate damping of home demand, but exported growth does not of its own accord generate an ever-bigger surplus.

If we are also going to suffer on account of our past and prospective cost inflation, we may have to adjust the exchange rate, but that is neither a cost of entry nor a "real" cost at all.

It would have the effect of raising our budget contribution in terms of depreciated pounds—but that only means that we cannot expect our partners to accept our currency at face

value.

Additional profits from new shops and improved performance from subsidiaries should provide a satisfactory result. Consideration is being given to a share incentive scheme for directors and other senior executives.

J. Waddington to pay 50 per cent

John Waddington, the Leeds-based printing, publishing and packaging group, is raising its dividend by 24 points, a final of 35 per cent making a total of 50 per cent for 1970-71.

While pre-tax profit has increased from £771,377 to £812,138, the group has suffered a reverse since it reported a first-half improvement from £485,000 to £570,000. In fact, it earned a pre-tax profit of £243,000 in the second half, against £286,000 in the corresponding period.

For the year as a whole, earnings per share work out at 19.20p, compared with 16.57p

in 1969-70.

Mr J. M. Menzies, chairman of John Menzies (Holdings), the retail and wholesaler newsagents and stationers, does not seem too excited about the halving of SET. In his annual review he says that while sales for the first nine weeks of the current year have improved by 13 per cent, salaries, wages and transport costs have all risen steeply. He adds that the increase is likely to be more than the current year's saving of £100,000 in SET.

Mr Menzies expects a rise in cover prices of newspapers, magazines, books and a wide range of other merchandise, which he believes should be

VALUERS and SALISBURY & HAMER
FIRE LOSS ASSESSORS
ESTABLISHED 1822
2, SUDLEY CROSS, BLACKBURN, TEL: 59011/2
45, BARTON ARCADE, ST. ANN'S SQUARE, MANCHESTER 2. TEL: 614 8746.



More answers?



More questions?

exports—if we could afford the loss—or through devaluation. Either way, it is still the food bill at the bottom of it, and we would only be paying it once.

Now the White Paper disposes of this argument by pointing out that a 24 per cent annual rise in food prices—one half of one per cent on the cost of living—should have no detectable effect on costs. (This is not quite true, for even small rises in living costs make wage pressure stronger than it would otherwise be.)

Where then could there be a rise in costs to account for the possible loss of exports? The answer is to be found in the things we are doing as a matter of Conservative policy which we would have to do anyway if we joined—turning to a VAT system on food and a VAT on the cost of living.

Neither, under the present Government, is a "cost of entry," so it is legitimate to leave them out of the White Paper. But if you are looking at our capacity to pay the burden which is described in the White Paper, it is necessary to hear in mind the fact that these changes are happening and are somewhat cost infatuatory.

The costs which are listed are the budget contributions, but only up to a net contribution of £200M in the fifth year. The Government says that no "valid estimate" can be made of our contribution after the transition. Luckily a journalist need not be inhibited as a government, and it is possible to make a perfectly respectable guess. It is the one which has been circulating for some weeks—about £300M.

It is the top end of the range suggested by Tim Jostling, a young economist whose revision of the food costs has taken a tremendous influence on doubtful economists, because it is so thorough and does so much to cut the problem down to size. I think it can be taken to represent a probable maximum, though a possible higher figure could be supported by quite plausible argument.

The White Paper does, on the other hand, go further than I did (or Jostling does) in suggesting that there might be a cost of £50M annually after the transition for the higher cost of food imports.

Add it all up, and you get £250M, or the balance of payments in the fifth year (White Paper figures) and £350M or a little more, according to taste, after the transition (basically Jostling on the budget and White Paper on imports).

This means simply that the balance of payments will be £50M worse as a result of entry than it might otherwise have been, exported growth inside the Market could make it fairly possible to find such a surplus by moderate damping of home demand, but exported growth does not of its own accord generate an ever-bigger surplus.

If we are also going to suffer on account of our past and prospective cost inflation, we may have to adjust the exchange rate, but that is neither a cost of entry nor a "real" cost at all.

It would have the effect of raising our budget contribution in terms of depreciated pounds—but that only means that we cannot expect our partners to accept our currency at face

value.

Additional profits from new shops and improved performance from subsidiaries should provide a satisfactory result. Consideration is being given to a share incentive scheme for directors and other senior executives.

J. Waddington to pay 50 per cent

John Waddington, the Leeds-based printing, publishing and packaging group, is raising its dividend by 24 points, a final of 35 per cent making a total of 50 per cent for 1970-71.

While pre-tax profit has increased from £771,377 to £812,138, the group has suffered a reverse since it reported a first-half improvement from £485,000 to £570,000. In fact, it earned a pre-tax profit of £243,000 in the second half, against £286,000 in the corresponding period.

For the year as a whole, earnings per share work out at 19.20p, compared with 16.57p

in 1969-70.

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Mr Menzies expects a rise in cover prices of newspapers, magazines, books and a wide range of other merchandise, which he believes should be

value if we cannot maintain its real value.

In short, the balance of payments penalty is not nearly heavy enough to deter anyone who believes in the dynamic benefits. As the White Paper points out an extra 1 per cent growth would produce £1,000M after five years.

The honest statement is that it is easier to improve the balance of payments by £500M in a growing economy than stay as we are. The dynamic argument remains the central one.

The White Paper argues that the cost of living will rise by an extra 1 per cent per annum as a result of entry. I see no reason to quarrel with this on a strict interpretation, but I would repeat the warning that there are other causes—the "Common Market things"—are doing as a matter of Conservative policy which will add to the total rise for industrial workers. The shift in internal tax arrangements is not, of course, a loss to the outside world; the Government, with VAT, revenue, and the saving on food subsidies, can afford to give compensation, and has promised to protect the real value of welfare payments. But prices would tend to rise—as is the experience of European countries who have changed to VAT and the European food policy.

Dynamic benefits raise real incomes

Again, I would conclude that there is nothing on the cost of living side to discourage entry. I would repeat the warning that there are other causes—the "Common Market things"—are doing as a matter of Conservative policy which will add to the total rise for industrial workers. The shift in internal tax arrangements is not, of course, a loss to the outside world; the Government, with VAT, revenue, and the saving on food subsidies, can afford to give compensation, and has promised to protect the real value of welfare payments. But prices would tend to rise—as is the experience of European countries who have changed to VAT and the European food policy.

Finally, on the economic side, there is the vague undertaking about sterling and the quite clear one about capital movements. The undertaking to run down sterling need mean no more than we choose it to mean. The Government rejects "unacceptable" balance of payments costs and can defend that under-taking with a veto. But free capital movements are another matter. If we really intend to liberate capital flows by 1978 there could be a substantial outflow which would need financing—just as the US investment outflow needs financing.

If this cost fell on the current balance of payments it could be highly unacceptable—even disastrous. This could be regarded as the weak spot in the whole argument but for two saving clauses.

One is the established practice of existing members of imposing exchange controls when it suits them. The other is the undertaking in general by the Commission that "the very survival of the Community would demand that the institutions should find equitable solutions."

Going in means believing in European opportunities and European goodwill. And on British toughness in defence of our own interests.

The only real oddity is the promise to "align our practice" on coal and steel with the Treaty of Paris. As Stuart Hallowd pointed out yesterday, no one else does that—just as no one else allows a deadly capital drain. It is to be hoped that we would be as realistic.

But perhaps that is something the White Paper had to leave out.

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Triplex Holdings Limited

Improved Performance in Second Half-Year. Outlook More Encouraging.

Extracts from the address by the Chairman Mr. T. E. Pappercorn, at the 50th Annual General Meeting held on Wednesday, 7th July. Year ended 31st March, 1971.

While the Group pre-tax profit of £1,414,000 (£703,500) indicates a useful recovery it is still less than the 1969 figure of £1.1m. despite an increase in turnover, and at 9.7% the return on capital employed is clearly inadequate.

Major strikes and cost increases had a disastrous effect on the first half year's profit. Trading conditions improved during the second six months with demand following a more stable pattern than had been experienced for some time. Stability in the form of a fair approximation of actual demand to forecast estimates over a period of immense importance to the Safety Glass Company which is very susceptible to the sort of fluctuations to which the British motor industry is so prone.

Other favourable factors were an all round improvement in efficiency with better utilisation of resources and a more satisfactory price level.

A final dividend of 8½p, to maintain the total for the year at 12½p, is recommended. This is not fully covered but the Board feels it to be justified by the encouraging performance for the second half year and the somewhat better outlook for the motor industry.

The fixed assets of the Group were revalued and the surplus of some £3m. is incorporated in the balance sheet.

Direct exports again increased with a rise of some 18% to £1,033,000 while indirect exports were steady at just under £7m.

Capital expenditure at £538,000 was unusually low. In the current year it is planned to spend nearly £2m.

Research and development continued at a high level. Encouraging progress was made with "Tan Twenty" glass, the exceptionally strong, thin, high quality toughened glass, already being used in the more advanced aircraft. The main research effort is being directed toward quantity production for the motor industry where the potential is both exciting and considerable.

The Engineering Companies showed a 30% increase in turnover and a profit improvement of nearly 18%. Triplex Ireland profit margins came under severe pressure and profits suffered a set-back.

This year has started moderately and if all goes well results should be better than last year.

In the longer term the Common Market offers opportunities for growth for the Company far beyond anything that can be expected if Great Britain does not join.

Ugine Kuhlmann

The Ordinary General Meeting of 22nd June 1971 under the chairmanship of M. Pierre Grezel passed all the resolutions.

The dividend fixed at F. 9 per share linked with a tax-allowance of F. 4.50, compared with F. 7.70 and F. 3.85 respectively for the financial year 1969, will be paid on 1st July 1971 (cf. n. 26).

This distribution represents an overall sum of F. 82,208,682 appropriated out of the net profit which, after abstraction of the appreciation of profits for F. 14.8 million, comes to F. 170.5 million once F. 221.2 million have been allocated for depreciation and F. 47.4 million for sundry net provisions.

The company's turnover before tax increased by 22%, in France and the export sector with a total of F. 4,513 million.

The consolidated before-tax turnover of the group amounted to F. 6,336 million compared to F. 4,859 million for the financial year 1969. These figures do not take into account those companies whose net assets are less than 5 million francs.

The consolidated cash flow appears at F. 694.4 million, i.e. F. 76 per share.

The Meeting re-elected Messrs. Pierre Grezel, René Fillon, André Lehrmann and Joseph Roos as administrators.

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PUBLIC APPOINTMENTS

EDUCATIONAL

MANCHESTER EDUCATION COMMITTEE

EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGIST

required in the City's expanding School Psychological and Child Guidance Service. Applicants must have an honours degree in psychology (or equivalent), post-graduate professional training, and teaching experience. Considerable experience as a practising educational psychologist is essential, including the work of psychological assessment and treatment in the Child Guidance setting. The successful candidate will be responsible to the Principal Educational Psychologist for the day-to-day running of one of the City's five School Psychological and Child Guidance Centres, offering comprehensive educational and clinical services. This work includes the administration of the work of a varied team of specialists, including teachers, social workers and other psychologists.

Salary in the range £2,226-£2,586 (Soubury Range A). Assistance with removal expenses.

Application forms and full particulars from: **CHIEF EDUCATION OFFICER (E)**, Education Office, Crown Square, Manchester M60 3BB. Closing date: 30th July 1971.

MANCHESTER EDUCATION COMMITTEE

Required from September, 1971, unless otherwise stated

CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL FOR BOYS

Kirkmanshulme Lane, Manchester 12

This is a comprehensive school with Upper and Lower School in separate buildings.

Teacher of FRENCH for Lower School. Subsidary German an advantage, though not essential.

Applicants should state how, other than in their specialist subject, they can contribute to the life of the school.

CLAYTON SCHOOL FOR GIRLS

Seymour Road, South, Manchester M11 4PR

Teacher of MATHEMATICS to C.S.E. level.

Applicants should state subsidiary subject.

LEACROFT SCHOOLS

Corelli Street, Miles Platting

(Formerly Miles Platting J.P.C.)

A Deputy Head Teacher is required for this Group (4) School for E.S.N. children.

Applicants should be interested in the severely handicapped child, and have knowledge of the problems associated with educationally and physically handicapped children would be an advantage.

LEVENSHULME HIGH SCHOOL

Crossley Road, Manchester M19 1ES

A seven form entry Comprehensive School with 150 to the sixth form.

Applicants should be interested in the severely handicapped child, and have knowledge of the problems associated with educationally and physically handicapped children would be an advantage.

Part time and/or newly qualified candidates can also be considered.

Please write giving full details of qualifications and experience and the names of two referees to the Headmaster.

MORTON BROOK HIGH SCHOOL FOR BOYS

Northampton Road, Manchester M10 9BP

Telephone 061-305 1223

1. FRENCH and Junior GERMAN. Temporary and/or part-time appointments.

2. RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION and GENERAL SUBJECTS in the Junior Forms.

NORTH MANCHESTER HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS

Brookside Road, North, Manchester M10 9JL

Well equipped school with a large area of ground.

The following subjects are offered: English, Mathematics, Science, History, Geography, Art, Music, Physical Education, and Languages.

A well qualified teacher of HISTORY to share the subject throughout the school.

Work up to C.S.E. and "O" levels already being pursued.

Previous applicants will be considered.

POUNDSWICK HIGH SCHOOL

Stonesway, Manchester M22 7BH

Required from September, 1971.

Head of Music Department (Grade 2-3). Ability both to teach and to lead in the school.

Applicants should be interested in the severely handicapped child, and have knowledge of the problems associated with educationally and physically handicapped children would be an advantage.

Part-time Teacher—five mornings each week for Commercial Subjects, mainly typewriting, to teach senior girls up to C.S.E. standard.

ST CLARE'S R.C. SECONDARY SCHOOL

Altrincham Road, Manchester M3 3RP

Part-time Teacher—five mornings each week for Commercial Subjects, mainly typewriting, to teach senior girls up to C.S.E. standard.

ST PETER'S GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Bury Old Road, Prestwich, Manchester M25 5JH

The following subjects are offered: English, Mathematics, Science, History, Geography, Art, Music, Physical Education, and Languages.

A well qualified teacher of HISTORY to share the subject throughout the school.

Work up to C.S.E. and "O" levels already being pursued.

Previous applicants will be considered.

WHALLEY RANGE HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS

Wilbraham Road, Manchester M16 8GW

1,500 Girls on Roll—190 in the Sixth Form.

Required from September, 1971.

Graduate in French to Head of the Modern Languages Department, Grade 2.

Applicants should be interested in the severely handicapped child, and have knowledge of the problems associated with educationally and physically handicapped children would be an advantage.

Part-time Teacher—five mornings each week for Commercial Subjects, mainly typewriting, to teach senior girls up to C.S.E. standard.

WRIGHT ROBINSON HIGH SCHOOL

Abbey Hay Lane, Gorton, Manchester M15 3RL

Assistant Teacher of PHYSICS.

Applicants should be interested in the severely handicapped child, and have knowledge of the problems associated with educationally and physically handicapped children would be an advantage.

Part-time Teacher—five mornings each week for Commercial Subjects, mainly typewriting, to teach senior girls up to C.S.E. standard.

Previous applicants will be considered.

Application forms and full particulars from: **CHIEF EDUCATION OFFICER (E)**, Education Office, Crown Square, Manchester M60 3BB. Closing date: 30th July 1971.

GENERAL

GLAMORGAN COUNTY COUNCIL
COUNTY PLANNING DEPARTMENT
LAND RECLAMATION UNIT

A County Land Reclamation Unit has now been established within the County Planning Department. The Unit is responsible for the planning and execution of land reclamation projects in the Glamorgan area. The Unit is currently seeking applications for the following posts:

Applications are invited for the following posts:

1. **LANDSCAPE OFFICER (ENGINEER)**

to assist the Land Reclamation Officer and be involved in all aspects of the Unit's work.

Qualifications: Must be Civil Engineers, preferably with planning qualifications and experience in land reclamation work.

Salary: £2,555-£2,949 p.a., £2,105-£2,751 p.a., according to experience.

2. **TECHNICAL ASSISTANT**

to be engaged in the preparation and supervision of schemes and contracts, including safety provisions. Suitable office and site experience required.

Qualifications: H.N.C. minimum standard preferred.

Salary: £1,515-£1,775, £1,775-£2,525 p.a.

3. **TEMPORARY CLERK OF WORKS**

to supervise the contract for the first stage of the Gŵr Goch scheme, a major project for a complete valley reclamation. To take up duties on the 1st September, 1971.

Qualifications: Appropriate experience and qualifications required.

Salary: £1,515-£1,775 p.a.

Commencing salary may be above the minimum in each case.

Application forms, to be returned by the 2nd August, 1971, from: **THE COUNTY PLANNING OFFICER**, COUNTY COUNCIL OFFICES, GYFFELARS ROAD, CARDIFF.

QUALIFIED SOCIAL WORKERS

Are you a qualified Social Worker looking for a worthwhile post in an interesting service? The Glamorgan County Council is seeking applications for the following posts:

1. **COMMUNITY WORKER** (Grade 1) to work in the community.

2. **COMMUNITY WORKER** (Grade 2) to work in the community.

3. **COMMUNITY WORKER** (Grade 3) to work in the community.

4. **COMMUNITY WORKER** (Grade 4) to work in the community.

5. **COMMUNITY WORKER** (Grade 5) to work in the community.

6. **COMMUNITY WORKER** (Grade 6) to work in the community.

7. **COMMUNITY WORKER** (Grade 7) to work in the community.

8. **COMMUNITY WORKER** (Grade 8) to work in the community.

9. **COMMUNITY WORKER** (Grade 9) to work in the community.

10. **COMMUNITY WORKER** (Grade 10) to work in the community.

11. **COMMUNITY WORKER** (Grade 11) to work in the community.

12. **COMMUNITY WORKER** (Grade 12) to work in the community.

13. **COMMUNITY WORKER** (Grade 13) to work in the community.

14. **COMMUNITY WORKER** (Grade 14) to work in the community.

15. **COMMUNITY WORKER** (Grade 15) to work in the community.

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20. **COMMUNITY WORKER** (Grade 20) to work in the community.

21. **COMMUNITY WORKER** (Grade 21) to work in the community.

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23. **COMMUNITY WORKER** (Grade 23) to work in the community.

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25. **COMMUNITY WORKER** (Grade 25) to work in the community.

26. **COMMUNITY WORKER** (Grade 26) to work in the community.

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58. **COMMUNITY WORKER** (Grade 58) to work in the community.

59. **COMMUNITY WORKER** (Grade 59) to work in the community.

60. **COMMUNITY WORKER** (Grade 60) to work in the community.

ENGINEER'S GUARDIAN

Hugh Colver on the
hovercraft scene

*It's
all
in
the
air*

CURRENT hovercraft manufacturing practice reflects two distinct philosophies. One is an aerospace-orientated concept in which hovercraft are built more like aircraft than ships, and the other is a marine-influenced concept in which the craft are built much more like conventional sea-going vessels.

In the United Kingdom, the British Hovercraft Corporation is the classic example of the first, and Hovermarine Transport follows the second philosophy. One would expect the other major manufacturer, Vosper Thornycroft, to follow the marine line in view of the other activities of the company, but their VT-1 craft falls somewhere in between.

On the other hand, it can be argued that a hovercraft is an airborne vehicle because, at least in the amphibious mode, it travels through the air with no ground or water contact. Air propellers are therefore ideal for propulsion, and—because it is airborne—it must be built light and strong like an aircraft.

On the other hand, it can be argued with equal force that if the operating area is a short sea-crossing the amphibious capability is unnecessary, the hull can have contact with the water through side walls and the structure can be rather like that of a ship on a cushion of air. This division of opinion has been with the hovercraft industry almost from the day the air cushion idea was born.

For example, legislation for hovercraft operations raised the question of whether a hovercraft should be classified as a ship or an aircraft, and operators are not sure which way to call their "drivers" hoverpilots or captains, eventually compromising on commanders.

It soon became clear, however, that the answer was very simple. Hovercraft are neither aircraft nor ships, they are hovercraft. And if that sounds like a truism, it should be remembered that from the legislative point of view at least, the recognition of this simple fact was important.

Difficulty

However, while this difficulty of classification is understandable in terms of hovercraft operations, it is perhaps less obvious why there should be a difference in basic design philosophy between manufacturers. It really comes about because the designers did not come fresh to hovercraft. As with most pioneer endeavours, they were entrenched in a background geared to the concepts most closely related to the new subject.

The British Hovercraft Corporation was born out of the hovercraft pioneers' efforts to develop a Westland Aircraft and Vickers concern—both with a long history in aviation. Westland's helicopter influence was dominant—since hovercraft were thought to be closer to helicopters than to conventional aircraft.

So BHC began life building totally airborne amphibious hovercraft—"real" hovercraft as they call them. They used the old Saunders Roe works on the Isle of Wight, and in that setting, and with largely aerospace orientated designers and technicians, they produced hovercraft using helicopter engines, air propellers, and air rudders.

The company sold craft to a number of commercial operators. There were some immediate failures and there was some long-term and hard-fought success. The latter, however, was realised, and this encouraged the amphibious policy since that is obviously the military requirement. Now the company is in a situation where most of its craft go to the military and they appear to be coming to the end of their original design philosophy.

BHC would probably argue with this, but their major commercial effort, the SR-N4 (Mountbatten Class) craft illustrates the mistake of pursuing this policy in the civil market. The craft is so expensive to run that the British Rail Seaside subsidiary loses a lot of money every year. And although Hoverlloyd, the independent operator, may make a profit this year it will be in spite of the economics of the craft rather than because of them.

BHC might also point to the SR-N6

experience of the profit-making Hovertravel/Hoverwork passenger/charter operator. Again, however, a much more economic craft would make life much easier for that company. Also, if the air propeller method of propulsion is pursued, there must be a size limitation. A trans-Atlantic craft of several thousand tons would need dozens of propellers to drive it along—not a very practical proposition. So BHC's next steps will be interesting.

The marine philosophy was followed in the early days by Denny Hovercraft Ltd, with a sidewall craft driven by water propellers. Similar ideas were pursued by Hovermarine Ltd, and are being followed—more vigorously by the new Hovermarine Transport company—formed by the American Transportation Technology concern after the collapse of Hovermarine.

Here, instead of the aircraft structures, gas turbines and air propellers and controls of BHC, we have craft with sidewalls, immersed in the water, GRP hulls, diesel engines, and water propellers. They pay a speed penalty, of course, but they aim to gain on cheaper original purchase price and running costs, and improved reliability.

So far, there has been little indication that either of these philosophies has the advantage. Both have gone through a period of teething troubles which have tended to slow down commercial acceptance.

As is well known, the SR-N4 was put on the Channel services after comparatively little testing and major modifications were required to skirts and other items. Improvements in reliability of both SR-N4 and SR-N6 have been impressive, however, and the achievements of BHC and the operators in this direction should not be underestimated. Skirt life on the SR-N6, for instance, has increased from about 50 hours to 600 hours in the craft's short history. But it is a pity the high operating costs were built into the craft in the first place.

Disappointing

When the Hovermarine HM-2 was launched it seemed like the end of the short, sheltered sea route operator's prayer—60 seats as opposed to the N-6s 38, improved controllability because of the sidewalls, angled water rudders for banked turns, cheaper engines, and reduced noise levels.

The only factor lost to the N6 was speed—about 35 knots compared with 45-50. In practice, however, the craft was disappointing. The engines, Cummins diesels, were excellent, but the ancillary equipment presented problems. The V-box transmission, the engines to the propellers gave trouble—mainly because of vibration—controllability was not up to expectations and noise levels were surprisingly high.

On taking over, Hovermarine Transport found it necessary to spend a year testing and modifying, and the changes, though not obvious from the exterior, are quite extensive. Although it is perhaps early to say, it seems that the HM-2 now has all the qualities it was originally designed to possess—

new export orders tend to confirm this. Sealing up this concept for larger craft presents nothing like the problems facing BHC in terms of methods of propulsion and control systems.

The Vosper Thornycroft VT-1 project is interesting in the context of this aerospace/marine engineering conflict. Although the company has a marine bias, they were the first to design a hovercraft from scratch in conjunction with an operator of experience.

Hovertravel are the operators in question. They are the most experienced and their N6 operations on the Solent and in charter work over six years have taught them most of the lessons they need to learn about operating hovercraft.

They took this knowledge to Vosper Thornycroft and the result is the VT-1, a craft which will carry 10 cars and 148 passengers. Construction is in marine alloys, and twin gas turbine power lift fans and water propellers. However, in spite of the water propellers, the craft is semi-amphibious, enabling it to nose on to the beach or hard standing for a roll-on/roll-off quick turnaround operation.

It is good to see an operator working with a manufacturer in this way. For it does not matter whether the design team is aerospace-orientated, marine-orientated or simply hovercraft-orientated provided the craft is commercially viable. And only the operators know what the requirements are in this direction.

Nevertheless, there had to be hovercraft for operators to test before there could be craft built with operator needs in mind. Now more operators are needed so that a stronger body of opinion can dictate the engineering practice of manufacturers in the future.

Potential

In land applications, hovertrains are the most interesting development, and the French, who now have an 80 passenger train operating on an 18-kilometre track near Paris are well ahead. The train is run on an elevated inverted T track and is powered by twin turbines to reach speeds of 175 mph. In terms of city-to-city and inter-city travel, there is a great potential here. Linear motors are likely to take the place of turbines in the long term, however, and this is an idea being pursued not only in France but in Britain's Tracked Hovercraft Ltd.

THL are building a box beam guideway in Cambridge, and a linear induction motor vehicle will soon start tests. It is a scaled-down version of a proposed 100-passenger train designed for a maximum speed of 250 mph. In this field, too, the hovercraft principle has rivals—there are many other types of high speed railway which look technically competitive.

It is not always appreciated that the air riding principle has been developed for wider applications—in such things as the movement of oil tanks to new sites and for moving heavy equipment round a factory floor. Amazingly little power is required to create a cushion of air that will lift a load of many tons on a platform which can then be pushed around by one man. Air stream conveyors, air bearing pads, hovertrucks, hoverkitties, a hover turntable for aircraft, a hover hospital for patients suffering from burns and, of course, the hover lawnmower—all these, and more, are either in existence or being developed.

From Sir Christopher Cockerell's early experiments the basic idea has been applied in a host of different ways. In the transport sector, hovercraft have suffered from the bad publicity of the early mistakes and problems. The engineering problems were in some areas considerable and scaling-up for ocean crossings created problems. It is too early to contemplate a hovercraft for the hover years time. The engineering achievements first have to be translated into commercially viable craft.

It has been pointed out, rather unkindly, that the ill-fated Princess flying boat rolled out of the same works as the SR-N4. The inference being that the similarity does not matter. It still has to be proved conclusively that this is no more than an unkind thought.

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PROPERTY GUARDIAN

Offices and the Seifert style

TOM ALLAN on developments in London

THERE are several new office developments nearing completion in London—but only a handful compared with some of the earlier years. One of them is Farners House in Monument Street—named after Farners the bakers, on whose premises, it is said, the Great Fire of London started in 1666. Farners House will provide over 73,000 square feet of air-conditioned office space on ground and six upper floors. There are facilities for conference rooms, luncheon rooms, and ground floor car parking, and the whole thing is another Seifert design. Richard Ellis and Son are the agents.

The Seifert style has itself spread through London like wildfire and has had a considerable impact on the post-war London scene. He, and those who have commissioned him, have had the courage to build for the future—an activity not to everyone's liking but realistic, adventurous, and to those who work in the new buildings with their air conditioning, magnificent views over London, easy riding lifts, and spacious feel, producing something rather better than some of those sordid rabbit warrens and older box-like rooms that still exist beside them.

Dash and adventure

The developers have changed London (as indeed the developers originally created it) and more chance is planned. By far the greatest impact is in the new office building which began in 1954 and has been going on ever since. Some of the buildings are beautiful—not chocolate box, old world beautiful but beautiful by the dash and adventure they show. There is a modern dignity about Space House in Kingsway—by Seifert—and quite apart from the emptiness, the lower areas and landscaping of Centre Point—again by Seifert—have done a lot to make St Giles Circus less depressing than it was.

And designs are getting better. The early years of the office boom, when the demand was so far ahead of supply, produced some mundane glass and concrete boxes but the developers now know that, if they are to achieve high rents, they must provide a building well designed both internally and externally. Some architects have introduced colour to advantage—others have been less successful. There are those among us who would prefer a less patriotic exterior than the red, off-white, and blue of the IPC building in Holborn—but colour well used can make a new building cause much less offence to its older neighbours.

Although all described as "modern," the office buildings erected by the post-war developers have achieved a variation in styles and clearly their architects—or a majority of them—have taken pains to marry their designs with adjoining buildings or the best of the immediate environment—either exist-

ing or planned. Amalgamated's Curzon Street development (it runs through from a preserved facade in Stanhope Gate) has a finish which blends well with the park and makes the adjoining Playbox Club building look frankly old hat. The new Capital and Counties' scheme for the Strand between Arundel Street and Surrey Street is dramatic and adventurous enough on plan and work of demolition has already started. The £13 millions scheme will include an hotel and nearly half a million square feet of office space. Many will regret the passing of some of the fine red brick buildings in this locality but it is a sad fact that many of them, particularly the upper rooms, contain some office space which could only be improved by total demolition.

Not all of the development since 1954 has been new. Companies like Haslemere have done some excellent work of renovation and restoration but they have been drastic with their internal treatments. Old buildings have been virtually gutted to provide spacious modern interiors and the product of this enterprise has been in great demand by the smaller and middle range firms for which the buildings are particularly suited. The price of central London property has forced commercial to replace residential use and many of London's more beautiful houses, in both the City and the West End, have been saved by careful conversion. Many more could be restored and their facades at least returned to something like their former splendour if commercial uses were allowed by the local planning authority—rehabilitation to the correct standard and with the right materials and craftsmanship is expensive and residential use is hardly likely to produce the returns to justify the high costs involved.

Skyline drama

London is taking on the look of the twentieth century. Any aerial view shows a new drama in the skyline. And this is largely due to the developers. Profits have been high but the risk has been at the same level and many of the road and environmental improvements now enjoyed by Londoners have come out of the developers' normal profit. There is still plenty of the old London left—the alleys off Fleet Street and Holborn, the peaceful Inos and, in the City, down near the river, to turn a corner is to find a narrow street still virtually as it was over two hundred years ago. London will become a blend of ancient and modern—the best of both we hope—and the authorities and, surprisingly perhaps, the best of the developers themselves are conscious of the need to preserve, to blend, to care for the old as well as the new. The developers and their architects will be dramatic and modern when the site and the authorities allow it, but they have the ability to make the best of both worlds

—and that is what the new London must be about.

But to shift the worst of the old (and while they are about it, the worst of some of the new as well), to acquire the sites at prices the general public find it hard to appreciate, to plan, and to redevelop is a high risk business. And high risk business demands high returns. Those returns are much less than they were because the finance houses take a slice of the cake, the local authorities if they are involved take another and there are others at the party. The developers are left with more than just the crumbs but they don't have it all their own way any more. And it is wise to remember that demand makes the market. Rents cannot be fixed in a vacuum without regard to what the market will pay. London, as a city, is perhaps lucky that the demand is high and the market will pay high rents. Many experts now say that a plateau has been reached and rents will rise only fractionally in the next year or so. But experts have been wrong before and inflation, unless we have the promised miracle, will ensure that rents will go up surely even if they jog up relatively slowly.

Cloud cuckoo land

Present rent levels have reached a dizzy enough height and those firms living in a cloud cuckoo land of office property leased to them 20 years ago at 30 shillings a square foot are likely to be tipped out of the nest to face the hard economic facts of life. The exceptional rents of £20 a square foot and higher paid for small prestige suites in the City are, thankfully, no guide but good space is now letting there at £10 to £12 a square foot with some rents higher for excellent property in a prime position. Quite good space can still be obtained for between £8 and £8 a square foot. In the West End the rents are lower. One or two exceptional developments which have attracted major companies seeking prestige accommodation have been let at a little over £8 but the level seems to be between £5 and £7.50 for the good. The bad and the ugly are working out lower as they should and it is still possible to rent West End space for £3.50 a square foot.

The high rent structure of the City and the West End—and all of these figures are exclusive of rates and service charges—has pushed the office fringe into areas which have grown in popularity. That bit of no man's land beyond Liverpool Street Station is picking up and the South Bank already has the label of a "boom" area. The promised space in London generally will stabilise the situation but a modern text is "once an office, always an office" and those areas which have been part changed from residential to commercial because of the high central rents are not likely to lose their office space no matter how much extra space comes along.

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SPORTS GUARDIAN

My Swallow
can become
top sprinter

By RICHARD BAERLEIN

If My Swallow can win the July Cup at Newmarket this afternoon, the first three home in this year's 2,000 Guineas will have accomplished a unique feat. Brigadier Gerard, already the champion miler, will lead the charge in the middle-distance horse, and My Swallow will have become champion sprinter.

On paper My Swallow has not a lot to do, and for his last race in France, he finished six lengths behind Faraway Son, who would be a long odds-on favourite, and the going heat him in France.

Of his rivals, The Brigadier appears better at five furlongs, but he has been in succession and Shiny Tenth and Swinging Junior appear just below top class. If there is a surprise in the race, it will be by No Mercy, for whom conditions will be at least ideal. He is a very fast horse on good ground and has been in the money in his last two races, winning the Free Handicap in mid-April. Therefore, My Swallow must be the favourite.

The rest of the Newmarket programme is singularly unattractive. Only three fillies line up for the Falmouth Stakes, and none of them are in the top flight. Shiny Tenth is at least unbeaten, having run only once this season, and I prefer her to Favolella.

Best bet of the day should be Steel Pulse in the Huddersfield Stakes (4.30). He has been in the money in his last two races, winning the Free Handicap in mid-April. Therefore, My Swallow must be the favourite.

At Newmarket yesterday, omelette was the favourite, and it was trained by Bruce Hobbs, landed a double in the Bunbury Cup. Twice

Hobbs landed a double when Grotto, showing his true form at last, won the Bunbury Cup. Twice

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Newmarket

COURSE POINTERS: A right-hand course where the draw is of no consequence. The leading jockeys and horses are listed below. The horses are listed in order of their last race, with the jockey's name in parentheses. The horses are listed in order of their last race, with the jockey's name in parentheses.

2 00 Trigo	3 35 Eleventh Hour
2 30 Strong Heart	4 05 Favolella
3 05 My Swallow	4 35 Defiantly (nb)
	5 05 Princess Hussar

TOTE DOUBLE: 3.5 & 4.5. TREBLE: 2.30, 3.35 & 4.55. GOING: Good.

ITV: 2.00, 2.30, 3.05, 3.35 & 4.55 (various channels).

JACKPOT: NAME FIRST SIX WINNERS.

2 00 PLANTATION MAIDEN PLATE: 2-Y-0: 11m: winner £250 (23 runners).

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Rich get richer and poor get poorer, says Labour MP

By IAN AITKEN

The publication of the Government's long-awaited White Paper on the terms of entry into the Common Market left the ranks of both the pro- and the anti-Marketisers on both sides of the Commons predictably embalmed in their existing positions.

The pro-Marketisers welcomed the White Paper and described it as an enlightened document to assist the Commons in arriving at an historic decision. The anti-Marketisers noted a number of glaring omissions in its text—including an overall figure for the cost of entry on Britain's balance of payments.

The absence of a figure for the total cost of entry was just one of the grounds that it would be wrong to offer a highly questionable and speculative figure for the cost, when it was impossible to provide any kind of calculation of the financial advantage of entry. But there was every sign last night that Labour MPs—and probably a number of Tory anti-Marketisers—would protest that the White Paper had withheld vital information from the British public.

However, it was the question of the survival of regional development policy which provided the major argument for the anti-Marketisers. They pointed out that only 11 lines of the 20,000-word White Paper had been devoted to regional policy, and that even this brief discussion had failed to provide any assurances for Welsh, Scottish, Northern, and Western MPs about the future of their constituencies after Britain's entry.

The same subject dominated a debate in the Parliamentary Labour Party which took place shortly before the publication of the White Paper. One previous supporter of Britain's entry, Mr Geoffrey Rhodes (Newcastle East), declared himself a convert to the anti-Market cause on the grounds that he had made a special study of regional policies in the Common Market.

As a member of the Council of Europe, he told the meeting, he had made it his special business to examine the adequacy of regional policies in the Six. He had discovered they were ineffective and that the population of Southern Italy was still moving out towards the North. He cited examples in which

the Italian Government had refused to allow companies to establish factories in the North, in the hope they would move to the South. The result had been that the companies had moved out of Italy altogether and had built their factories much closer to the industrial centre of the EEC.

What was happening in Europe was that the rich areas were tending to become richer and the poor areas to become still poorer, he said. Britain's membership was therefore likely to benefit the Midlands and the South at the expense of the North.

Mr John Silkin, who was making his first speech since he ceased to be Labour's Chief Whip, declared himself an opponent of entry. He flatly denied Lord George-Brown's suggestion that the Labour Party had made up its mind in favour of entry when it launched its negotiations with the Six in 1967, and also denied that the party would lose credibility if it now came out against entry. There was no doubt that the country and the party had turned against the terms since 1967—it was one of the privileges of a democratic system that people should be able to change their minds.

He insisted that there had been substantial changes in the Parliamentary Labour Party since 1967 involving a strong move away from the uncommitted centre towards the two extremes of support and opposition. There were many members, and he predicted they were divided approximately 3-1 against entry.

He was answered by Dr David Owen (Sutton) who appealed for party unity in spite of the differences over Europe. There was no reason to give the Tories a present of a bitterly-divided Labour Party, he said. He

argued that most of the failures of the Labour Government had been caused by the disastrously low level of economic growth achieved during its years of office. Membership of the EEC could achieve an improvement in growth more than sufficient to offset the cost of entry.

Mr Joe Ashton (Bassetlaw) admitted that the European Socialist parties wanted Britain in. So did the European trade unions. But both were a sham, and needed help desperately. The unions were founded on a confusion of religion and politics. Mr Ernie Ferryhough (Jarrow) claimed there was just as much hope of Britain influencing the Commission in Brussels as the Labour Party would have if it joined the Tory party on bloc.

Mr Sam Silkin, a long-term pro-European and the brother of Mr John Silkin, insisted that those who had agreed to the 1967 application for membership had also accepted the view that the benefits of entry would outweigh the disadvantages. There could be no question of an election or a referendum on the issue when the Labour Party was so totally divided on it. Parliament would have to make the decision, but should not be whipped into the lobby under a three-line whip.

Mr Peter Doherty (Dundee West) claimed the centre of production in Britain would be placed as close as possible to the 200 million people making up the European market. It would leave the North, Scotland, and Wales on the outer fringes of the Common Market.

Mr Douglas Houghton, chairman of the Labour Party and a dedicated European, remarked afterwards that there had been only one reference to New Zealand, sugar production, and the Commonwealth in the course of the entire debate. Regional policy had loomed over the meeting as the dominant issue.



The cooling-off procedure in operation for hot-footed visitors in Trafalgar Square yesterday. (Picture by Peter Johns)

Hall bows out

MR PETER HALL (below) has withdrawn as co-director elect of the Royal Opera House. In September he was to have begun a five-year contract stipulating 26 weeks' work a year. The Royal Opera said Mr Hall believed 26 weeks was not long enough to do the job properly, and that his theatre and film commitments made it impossible for him to give more time to Covent Garden. Mr Hall would still be available for future productions. The opera would now be managed by the musical director, Mr Colin Davis, and the specially-created post of co-director would remain vacant.



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Paisley calls talks a 'political trick'

Inter-party talks sponsored by the Northern Ireland Prime Minister, Mr Brian Faulkner, in Belfast yesterday were boycotted by the Rev. Ian Paisley and his Protestant Unionist colleague, the Rev. William Beattie.

They condemned the talks as "a nakedly transparent attempt to raise support for the Prime Minister by another political trick when the country has its back to the wall."

There were eight Unionists, and MPs from the opposition parties at the meeting. The Prime Minister had asked all parties to give a serious trial to what he described as an experiment in patient discussion.

On the industrial front, Lord Rochdale, chairman of Harland and Wolff, said yesterday that the shipyard was now ready for action. He said he had taken the job "not only for the industry but for the country and Northern Ireland in particular."

Lord Rochdale and Mr Iyer Hoppe, the new managing director, were guests at the naming ceremony of the £77 million tanker, Esso Caledonia, a fixed price vessel which Harland built at a considerable loss. Mr Hoppe said that one of his first priorities would be about relations and the building up of a team to make the yard profitable.

Mr Alan Watt, the deputy chairman, said that if Harland did not want to finish up with the largest swimming pool in the business, their delivery dates had to be kept.

Two former members of the Ulster Special Constabulary were given six-month prison sentences yesterday at Belfast on ammunition charges. The Rev Ian Paisley has claimed that a bomb was held in Belfast yesterday.

wanted it done openly and legally within the parliamentary framework.

The Ulster Defence Regiment yesterday denied a claim by the Civil Rights Association that it was becoming another B Special Force with the Roman Catholic members leaving it. The regiment said that the number of resignations from Roman Catholics was no higher than the normal proportion.

Troops in Belfast will not be prevented from joining the Orange Order or similar organisations, Mr Geoffrey Johnson-Smith, Under-Secretary of State, Army, said in Belfast. "As far as political freedom is concerned, a member of the British Army can be a member of a political party," he said.

A memorial service for Sergeant Michael Willetts who was killed shielding four people from a bomb was held in Belfast yesterday.

A new drop in jobs

By our Financial Staff

There was another big drop in employment between April and May in spite of the fact that the trend in unemployment was then moderating.

It was concentrated on manufacturing where 54,000 jobs, 40,000 of them for men, vanished in the month. The drop over the 12 months to May was 339,000 in manufacturing (against 305,000 in April), 191,000 jobs for men and 148,000 jobs for women. In all of production industries, the fall is now 424,000 jobs in year.

Another disturbing sign of the deepening recession is another sharp rise in long-term unemployment as a proportion of the whole: 63 per cent of all the unemployed had been out of work for more than two months in June, up from 61 per cent in May. For men the proportion was just under 66 per cent.

The rise in unemployment of a seasonally adjusted basis in the period since the Budget is now 85,000—all men.

Yesterday's Guardian

The Guardian apologises to some readers for deficiencies in the copies of the paper they received yesterday. These were caused by mechanical difficulties because of colour printing, a result of colour printing, and television notices printed in later editions on Tuesday appeared in some of the same editions yesterday. Normally these notices are changed at midnight so that readers in parts of the country may have a full coverage of the arts.

Woman cleared of killing

Mrs Elizabeth Alexander, age 31, of Kilburn Street, Notting Hill, was found not guilty of the killing of her lover, the father of her two daughters. The defence to charges of murder and manslaughter, that the man, Terence McManus, aged 34, was drunk and in a rage during a bedroom argument. She produced a knife to frighten him and he died when he lunged at her.

Another £21M in aid from Britain

BY OUR POLITICAL STAFF

Britain has sent £21 millions to the International Development Association in response to a request by Mr Robert McNamara, president of the World Bank, to the Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home.

Britain has already promised to give IDA, an affiliate of the World Bank, £129.6 millions from this month until June, 1974. But because the 11 other contributing nations needed time to pass legislation before joining their pledge to give £1,900 millions, Mr McNamara asked Sir Alec for an advance payment made possible under the 1968 Overseas Aid Act.

Mr Richard Wood, Minister of Overseas Development, told the Commons yesterday in a written reply that a further £22 millions out of the four-year total would follow after the immediate £21 millions.

"The money we have pledged, together with the amounts which are also to be made available by the Governments of Canada, Denmark and Finland, should enable the association to continue its commitment programme for some time," Mr Wood said.

IDA helps developing countries, many in the Commonwealth, who need outside capital but cannot make the foreign exchange payments needed for ordinary development loans. In 11 years, it has made \$3,000 millions available.

Woman to climb oak tree

THE SENTIMENTAL value of a house made of packing cases perched 40ft on an oak tree is such to a housewife at Yateley, Hampshire, that she is going to climb up and stay there when the county council men come to cut the tree down.

The housewife, Mrs Margaret Crosbie, said yesterday: "The council made its plans known two years ago. They wanted 20ft of my garden, and twice came down to measure it out. I was shown plans to chop down my oak tree—and the surveyors were promptly shown the door. My husband protested to the council and we have refused to let council workers back on to our land."

"Compensation for taking part of our garden and chopping the tree down doesn't mean a thing. We don't want anything to do with the council. I realise the road is dangerous, but if people would stick to the 40 mph limit there would be no trouble. There has never been a death in the lane."

Reflation hint and Market terms

continued from page one

the effects on the UK's economy of Britain's entry. It is impossible, in the Government's view, to produce valid figures on which to base a balance sheet.

But Ministers commend British entry, without a balance sheet, on the grounds of the experience of the EEC. Ministers' conviction that its creation materially contributed to its members' growth, and that there is an essential similarity between the economies of the UK and of the members of the EEC.

In any case, the Government wants the public to know that it will be some eight years before the full impact of British membership could be felt: it will be 18 months before the transitional period starts, another five years before the transitional period ends, and another two years before the UK is completely a member of the EEC.

The White Paper says little about future developments in an enlarged EEC. Ministers assume that development to follow that will be a financial and currency agreement. After that, the political Community might be established. Ministers do not expect a defence Community to be set up before political arrangements have been agreed by all the members of the EEC.

Critics of Britain's membership have made much of the fact that, once in, she would be in for all time. The White Paper does not say so. Referring to the treaties establishing the EEC and the European Coal and Steel Community, the paper states: "Those treaties contain no provision expressly permitting or prohibiting withdrawal. Nor do some other important treaties to which the UK is a party, for example, the UN Charter."

The Government accepts the view that those who apply for membership of the EEC and the ECSC do so with the object of making the arrangements work. But since each member of the EEC has the right to veto any proposal which it regards as being against its national interests, there can be no doubt that in the last resort any member may withdraw.

Mr Wilson decided last night to exercise his right of reply to Mr Heath's Ministerial broadcast. The Opposition Leader will broadcast tomorrow. Mr Wilson's decision to reply tomorrow was interpreted last night as meaning that he would reject the terms which have been negotiated by Mr Rippon for Britain.

The Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers was yesterday suspended from membership of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions for failing to comply with conditions which congress insists must be met before strike action is taken.

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Guilty of bet shop murder

Michael Baverstock (26), who shot a man in a raid on a betting shop, was found guilty of murder at the Central Criminal Court last night. He was one of four men involved in the raid on the shop in Lower Road, Rotherhithe, London, on February 3. He will be sentenced today.

Mr John Mathew, prosecuting, had said that Mr Stanley Butcher, aged 65, was killed by a .22 revolver bullet which hit his chest and penetrated his lung. It was fired by Baverstock as he and the other men burst into the shop. As Mr Butcher lay dying, the men grabbed £187 from the till and fled.

Baverstock, of Meakin Estate, Decima Street, Bermondsey, said in evidence that the gun went off accidentally when he barged open the locked door to the betting office.

Daniel John Duggan (41), of Tanner House, Tanner Street, Bermondsey, was found not guilty of the murder but guilty of manslaughter. He, and two other men who have admitted manslaughter and robbery, will also be sentenced today.

Chay home soon

Chay Blyth, on his way home after the first o-o-p-o-one man voyage round the world from east to west, said yesterday he expected to arrive at Southampton in four weeks. He said all was well on board his 17-ton ketch, British Steel. His position was about 800 miles due west of the Canary Islands.

Two men were sent to prison yesterday when they appeared separately at Old Street Court, London, on charges arising out of a protest demonstration over the Borstal absconder, Stephen McCarthy.

Each admitted having assaulted the same police constable. Mr Jeremy Connor, prosecuting, said both incidents occurred in a demonstration at Islington after the death of McCarthy two months after his

arrest in Islington last November. Leonard O'Sullivan (22), heating engineer, of Mount Pleasant Road, Tottenham, was sent to prison for 6 months for assaulting Police constable Derek Caroline. He pleaded guilty, and was said to have 10 previous convictions. He had been to Borstal.

Terence Brown (21), warehouseman of Essex Road, Islington, was sent to prison for four months for assaulting PC Caroline earlier. He was also fined £10 for obstructing him. He admitted both offences, and had

7pc not enough

A PAY OFFER of 7 per cent to 350,000 local government staff was rejected yesterday by leaders of the five unions involved. Greater London Council and Inner London Education Authority staff also rejected a 7 per cent offer.

ILTF bans pros

THE INTERNATIONAL Lawn Tennis Federation yesterday banned World Championship Tennis professionals, such as Rod Laver and John Newcombe, from all their competitions including Wimbledon.

(David Gray, page 23)

In doghouse

A BAGGAGE HANDLER, Elmar Medendorp, aged 19—survived when he was accidentally locked in the hold of an Iberia Airlines DC9 at Düsseldorf. He found that a dog was part of the cargo, which meant that the compartment had been specially pressurised. A doctor found him ruffled but well when the Madrid-bound aircraft made an emergency landing at Bordeaux.

69 at 27th

TONY JACKLIN celebrated his 27th birthday yesterday with a round of 69 to share the lead in the first round of the 100th Open Golf Championship at Royal Birkdale, Lancashire.

STOP PRESS

Explosions in Tel-Aviv. Four explosions in Tel-Aviv suburb of Petach Tikva. Firemen said there were "many casualties."—UPI.

Gaol for assault on police

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four previous convictions. Brown was later allowed £200 bail when he lodged notice of his appeal against sentence.

O'Sullivan was said to have kicked the officer in the spine, and Brown to have punched him. Both men said they had been trying to free a friend who had been arrested.

The magistrate, Mr Neil McElligott, told O'Sullivan: "If you or I see trouble, we can walk away from it. A police officer has no choice but to deal with the situation, and has got to be protected against this sort of thing."

THE WEATHER

AROUND BRITAIN

Reports for 24 hours ended 6 p.m. yesterday:

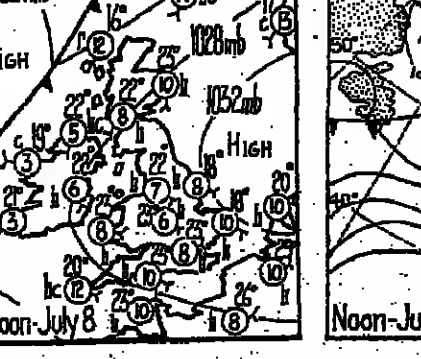
Area	Temp	Wind	Cloud	Remarks
London	15.5	25	77	Sunny
Edinburgh	12.5	25	77	Sunny
Belfast	12.5	25	77	Sunny
Cardiff	12.5	25	77	Sunny
Manchester	12.5	25	77	Sunny
Sheffield	12.5	25	77	Sunny
Nottingham	12.5	25	77	Sunny
Leeds	12.5	25	77	Sunny
Birmingham	12.5	25	77	Sunny
Bristol	12.5	25	77	Sunny
Exeter	12.5	25	77	Sunny
London	12.5	25	77	Sunny

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SEA PASSAGES

All passages: 21, or moderate.

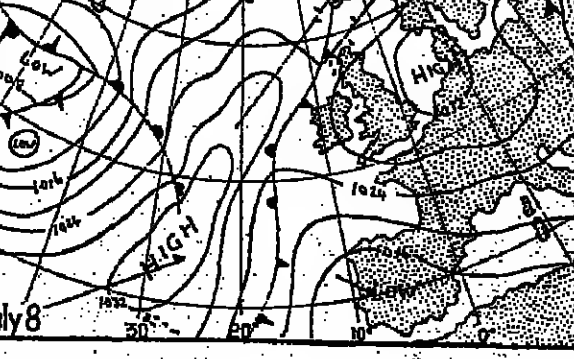


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London	12.5	25	77	Sunny

SEA PASSAGES

All passages: 21, or moderate.



Mostly dry and warm

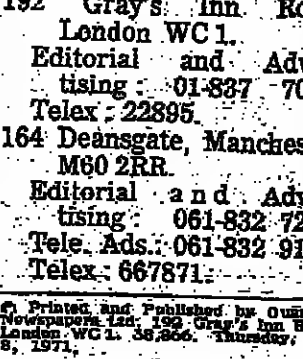
Mostly dry with long spells of sun. Northern Ireland will be cloudy with some rain. It will be hot in some places.

London: 15.5, 25, 77, Sunny. Edinburgh: 12.5, 25, 77, Sunny. Belfast: 12.5, 25, 77, Sunny. Cardiff: 12.5, 25, 77, Sunny. Manchester: 12.5, 25, 77, Sunny. Sheffield: 12.5, 25, 77, Sunny. Nottingham: 12.5, 25, 77, Sunny. Leeds: 12.5, 25, 77, Sunny. Birmingham: 12.5, 25, 77, Sunny. Bristol: 12.5, 25, 77, Sunny. Exeter: 12.5, 25, 77, Sunny. London: 12.5, 25, 77, Sunny.

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